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# LATE SAXON AND VIKING ART



# LATE SAXON AND VIKING ART

*by*

T. D. KENDRICK

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*With 96 plates and  
21 line illustrations in the text*



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## PREFACE

IF this book has merits, they are due to the help I have received from my many most generous and ingenious colleagues. In particular, I acknowledge my indebtedness to Francis Wormald, who has instructed me in the matter of the manuscripts, to Dr. F. Saxl, and to Sir Alfred Clapham, who has encouraged and corrected me with a characteristically kindly wisdom in all the essays that I now present to the reader. As in the preface to the first volume, I have to thank many incumbents, librarians, and curators, for allowing me to take photographs, and also the editors and authorities who have given me permission to reproduce illustrations, the source of which is named in the list of plates and figures; and I must thank especially the Editors of *Antiquity* and the Council of the British Archaeological Association for letting me make use of material in two previously published papers. I should like, furthermore, to record how much I owe to Robert Freyhan, Ernst Kitzinger, Lawrence Stone, and Margaret Wrigley, and all my other friends who have accompanied me in the survey of the stone crosses, a task in which we were assisted by an ample grant from the Leverhulme Trustees. In this matter it is a duty to record with gratitude how much I have learnt from the wise and charming writings on the Northumbrian crosses by the great antiquary, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, whose works and, especially, his great series of drawings, still remain the foundation upon which all studies of these carvings must be built. Finally, I acknowledge an irredeemable debt to my colleague Elizabeth Senior, who was killed in 1941, for she gave me invaluable assistance with her camera and her sketch-book, and I know well that her sensible suggestions and courageous opinions have brightened and improved almost every chapter I have written. *Flet tamen admonitu motus, Elissa, tui.*

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# I

## WINCHESTER ILLUMINATION: THE MAIN DEVELOPMENT

THIS book begins with an account of the paintings and drawings of the 'Winchester' manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first thing to say is that 'Winchester' is just a commonly used and convenient descriptive term that must not be interpreted too strictly.<sup>1</sup> The 'Winchester' style, it is true, is in the main one of Winchester inspiration, and many of the manuscripts to be described are indubitably of Winchester origin; but the style is not a Winchester monopoly. It is not even exclusively West Saxon. We must think of it as a generally established English manner, predominantly perhaps southern, but as much at home in places like Exeter, Glastonbury, Canterbury, Abingdon, and Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, as in the West Saxon capital. This should be remembered, because, in accordance with custom, we are going to use the descriptive adjective 'Winchester' without the cumbersome inverted commas.

A second, and a more important preliminary observation is that in this Winchester work we have the best thing in Anglo-Saxon art, as I think most students would agree. And here I must add that in my view its beauty often resides as much in the colouring as in the drawing, so that monochrome photographs do not do it justice. The reader who looks at the original manuscripts will have many delightful surprises. The difference, for instance, between Plates IX, 1, and XXIII, 2, here and the actual drawings is of such significance that the monochrome version in some respects fail to illustrate the style I try to describe.

The supreme interest of Winchester art is that it provides the successful solution of the outstanding aesthetic problem of English pre-Conquest art, that of combining the glittering abstract patterns of insular 'barbaric' illumination with the more substantial dignities and the gentler graces of the classical tradition

<sup>1</sup> See Francis Wormald's remarks *Archaeologia*, XCI (1945), p. 131.

in painting. The nature of these two quite different arts has been described in the first volume of this book,<sup>1</sup> and the reader will find therein an account of the recurrent clashes and of their occasional attempted amalgamations; now, however, in the Winchester manuscripts we come for the first time to something that is a just and lucid compromise between them, a formula revealing the united elegancies of both. It is an achievement of such significance that it must rank above everything else in this book. What we are going to learn about it is, firstly, that it is English-born; and, secondly, that its influence outlives the Saxon period. In fact, Winchester illumination is the first really English thing in English art.

We must stress first of all its laboured beginnings, and the original impetus that was due to the revival of classicism under the West Saxon kings of the house of Alfred the Great, who died in 899. As was explained in the first volume, after Alfred had defeated the Danes, the classical tradition was in the ascendant in southern England, and barbaric art was to a large extent relegated to the distinct and outlandish provinces of Northumbrian and Viking art. This generalization needs, of course, some qualification, because the Christian expression of barbaric art to be seen in the many surviving manuscripts of the Hiberno-Saxon Church was not condemned, nor, presumably, were such of these manuscripts as happened to be in the south English libraries put out of sight; and the fact is that the barbaric art they represent did have, as we shall see, some influence on the development of the Winchester style; but the point is that barbaric art, which did not, like classical art, include naturalistic drawings of people and scenery and buildings, consisted principally of extravagantly stylized human beings and soulless spreads of animal-pattern and interlace; and after the wars with the Danes that kind of decoration became so closely associated with the invaders, the enemies of Christendom, that classical art was correspondingly identified in the eyes of the court at Winchester with surviving Christian civilization and was therefore elevated by the West Saxon kings to the rank of a national English style. Thus, when Queen Ælfæd of Wessex (d. 916) ordered a stole and maniple to be embroidered for Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester (enthroned 909), her needle-women worked in coloured silks figures of Saints and

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*. London, 1938.

Prophets that were not done in anything even distantly resembling the Celtic or Hiberno-Saxon manner, but were dignified naturalistic drawings of Frankish, or Byzantine, type that foreshadow the later Winchester style.<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Frithestan's stole and maniple were found in the tomb of St. Cuthbert (d. 687), and it is under King Athelstan (d. 939), who presented these vestments to the Saint's shrine, then at Chester-le-Street, that West Saxon classical art is first found in the manuscripts. Probably Athelstan himself guided its development, for his interest in Frankish illumination is proved by the books he chose as presents. He reigned only fifteen years; but his wars were part of the re-conquest of the Dane-law, and he died *Rex Totius Britanniae*, a great Englishman in his own right and a ruler with powerful Continental connexions, for he was the brother-in-law of Otto the Great. His fame as a donor of manuscripts is well-founded, and it is almost certain that among his numerous gifts made to St. Cuthbert was the copy of Bede's *Life of this Saint* that is now in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 183). It is a southern manuscript, probably from Winchester or Glastonbury, and at the beginning there is a full-page picture of Athelstan presenting the volume to Cuthbert (Pl. XXXIII). This was painted about 935, a quarter of a century later than the embroidery of the vestments, and the figures are still classical; but they have lost the Byzantine graces of those on the stole and maniple, and are stolidly and stiffly drawn in a very clumsy imitation of Frankish painting. The colours are heavy and opaque, and the shading is crude, and the general effect of the page is a solemn, dark assemblage of dull purple and gloomy reds and blues. The style, in fact, is a plodding, uninspired classicism, though it is sincere and sturdy work that illustrates the determined trend of the time. The elaborate foliate scroll in the border, done in white on a dark red background with yellow margins, is something that the Saxon artist found much more to his liking, and we shall refer to this later on, and also to the charming little barbaric initials in the body of the manuscript; but for the moment we are concerned with the laboured classicism of the figural style in the principal illuminated page. This is found again in the English illustrations of the same date added to the earlier and largely Frankish Athelstan Psalter (British Museum,

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. CII.

Galba A. XVIII), for they are executed in the same stumpy and heavy sub-Frankish style, though we must note that their frames are in the Hiberno-Saxon tradition, as is also their colouring, which is enlivened with orange borders and much milky blue.

It was not long, however, before this solemn and awkward figure-style began to change, and it was Frankish art that provided the English with the necessary inspiration. In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there is a foreign grammatical treatise (Auct. F. IV, 32) that bears on the first page a drawing of Christ holding a rod and an inscribed panel, and at the foot of the page there is a little kneeling figure of St. Dunstan and the words of his prayer (Pl. I). The figure of Christ is not centrally set on the page and has the drapery so arranged that St. Dunstan and the lettering above him seem to be part of an originally intended composition; indeed both the saint and the inscription are ornamented with the same shade of orange-brown paint as that colouring Christ's halo, and the tightly creased fold-style of the smaller figure corresponds with that at the right knee of Christ. There is, accordingly, the high interest attached to the folio that it may be, as the statement at the top of the page tells us, the actual work of St. Dunstan, a man who very greatly influenced monastic life and, probably, monastic art, in England; but the main matter is the style of the drawing, for whether this be Glastonbury work of *c.* 950 (note the Hiberno-Saxon character of the head of Christ), or whether it be Frankish, it reveals very clearly the nature of the figure-style that profoundly altered the work of the Saxon artist in the middle of the tenth century. It is a style appreciably more graceful than that on which the Athelstan manuscripts of the 'thirties are based, and the change is due to the significant clarity and sensibility of the line-drawing. This crisp and lightly handled linear design which, since it has no weighty shadows, comes glittering to the surface of the page, was something that the English knew well and could exploit with enthusiasm, for this kind of calligraphic exercise was a principal part of the Hiberno-Saxon heritage. In the tenth century it provided just the style of drawing that was able to give a truly insular lightness and gaiety of manner to the heavy figures of the Athelstan period.

Though the change was still in an experimental stage, we see it operating in what is usually called the first Winchester

style manuscript, King Edgar's Charter to the New Minster at Winchester (British Museum, Vespasian A. VIII), which was inscribed and illuminated in 966.

By this time Dunstan was Archbishop of Canterbury, and St. Ethelwold had been made Bishop of Winchester, and thus we come to the second of the famous names connected with the monastic reform of the tenth century. We do not know that Ethelwold was, like Dunstan, himself an artist; but he, like Oswald of Worcester, had had experience of the Cluniac scriptorium at the Abbey of Fleury, and as he was a generous donor of manuscripts and church ornaments, we can be quite sure that he took a personal interest in the work of the great artists that produced the famous manuscripts of his episcopacy. The Charter, the first of these, is written throughout in gold, and the principal illuminated page (Pl. II) is painted on purple vellum (now faded to a light mauve) as was the custom in the most sumptuous Carolingian manuscripts. It shows King Edgar, who stands between the Virgin and St. Peter, holding the charter aloft to Heaven where Christ sits in a mandorla attended by four angels. The page glitters with gold, and the colours are light pinks and blues and greens and a warm orange. The style is sharply distinguished from the paintings of Athelstan's day by its gaiety, its pretty colours, and its excited vigorous line-drawing. The angels around the mandorla show how the artist of the Charter was using with zest and emphasis drapery-lines like those of the 'Dunstan' drawing, and we see that he could give them an added spirit and movement, this being well illustrated in the loose folds swinging away from the body, as in the figure of St. Peter. The artist, however, was severely tested because he was called upon to draw a figure in a most unusual posture. He was able to copy with accuracy a seated Christ in Majesty, and supporting angels, and ordinary standing figures; but a king with his back to us holding up a book to the skies was not a subject already among the stock patterns, and therefore he had to improvise. The result is the most lively and dramatically posed figure on the page, a Saxon *tour de force*; but it is achieved by means of an impossible corkscrew stance that strangely permits the King's toes and buttocks and face all to be turned towards the spectator. Once we have observed this proof of the Charter artist's originality and of his readiness to take liberties with his classical source, it is not

surprising to notice also that he has refused to accept the classical theory of the frame as a distinct and limiting enclosure. He has, in fact, designed it as part of the picture and not as a border; he has given it the same sort of texture and colours and crinkled liveliness as the drapery of the figures, and he has permitted these personages actually to stand on it and even to step, as in the case of the King, or fly, as in the case of one of the angels, right in front of it. In other words, by this time the Saxon artist has mastered his Carolingian model and is engaged with obvious enjoyment in turning it into English art. Quite rightly, this is held to be the beginning of the Winchester style.

Though we recognize an increased lightness and stir in the lines of this gay painting, the fact remains that the figures themselves, except the King, are still somewhat heavy and wooden. The features, as in the Athelstan period, are large and coarse, and the eyes stare with an impassive stolidity. There are no alert expressions and lively glances; there is no real emancipation from the ponderous classicism of the Frankish models. This stolidity, the legacy of the 'Ada' and the 'Metz' styles abroad, is still recognizable, though it is perhaps a little less obvious, in the greatest of the early Winchester manuscripts, the famous Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, now at Chatsworth, which was written and illuminated at the command of the Saint in the period 975-80, either at the Old Minster or at Ely, which had been refounded by St. Ethelwold.

The main characteristics of this beautiful manuscript are revealed in the picture of St. Etheldrythe (Pl. III) and two details from other folios (Pl. IV). In general, the figure-style is not much more vivacious than that of the Charter, though the drapery is a little more sensitive and gaily frilled, and the drawing of the faces and the hands, usually done in red ink, is more delicate; but on the whole, even in folios representing dramatic action and violent movement, it is still permissible to use words like stolid and inert and wilting in describing the personages of the picture. In the large figures the big round fleshy faces, loaded with thick white paint, match the leaden heaviness of the bodies. St. Etheldrythe is stately, but she is lifeless and heavy-looking, and the Christ of the Baptism (Pl. IV, right) is weakly drawn in spite of the felicitous sketching of certain details of the body. On the other hand, the figures in the

Incredulity scene are among the best in the whole book (Pl. IV, left) and reveal the intrusion of a much more vigorous style. Note especially the powerful forward thrust of St. Thomas's neck, and the impressionist hair with its sensitive dark brown shading on a head of pale gold, for we have here an important early appearance of a mannerism that was soon to transform the whole character of Saxon illumination.

The outstanding glory of the manuscript is the marvellous colouring that gives a brilliant cheerfulness and excitement to the pages. St. Etheldrythe is a blaze of gold and light pinkish red, picked out with white, and the thickly packed surrounding acanthus-foliage is pink, blue, purple, and green, so that the total effect of the page is one of an almost blatant gorgeousness. In the Baptism scene the background is purple; the mandorla, the Dove, and the proffered napkins are gold; the swirl of water is deep blue-green, and the Baptist is in a yellow skin; at the bottom of the picture there are purple waves.

The fact is that an overwhelmingly rich colour-pattern is the first thing one notices about the pages in the Benedictional, and the second is that each picture is one comprehensive design that embraces the figures and the inscriptions and the frame. The Charter artist had gone some way in this direction; but the Benedictional artist goes right back to the old Hiberno-Saxon tradition of the ornamental page in which the frame is simply a minor and integral part of the total picture. As a boundary in space it meant nothing to him at all. In fact, in the Incredulity folio and several other pictures in this manuscript it is to a great extent obscured by the personages of the scene who have stepped out of the frame in order that a part of their drama may be enacted in front of it.

At this point we must remind ourselves of the native taste that contributes to the formation of the Winchester style. The figures, we know, have a classical source; but the decorative scheme of the pages just described is not classical at all, and the fact is that one of the outstanding characteristics of the developing English art of illumination in the tenth century is the persistence of the Celtic system of the ornamented page as expressed in the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts of earlier centuries. The St. Etheldrythe folio is an excellent example. It shows us what was originally a framed portrait of a woman now turned by the Saxon artist into a highly ornamental abstraction of its own

theme, a single spread of pattern obliterating the frame and also the air and the scenery in which the Saint stands; for the frame has become part of the picture, and the background is just openwork—or, better perhaps, is supplanted by an inscription used decoratively as a part of the picture. We have only to look again at the detail from the Athelstan-period Life of St. Cuthbert (Pl. XXXIII) to appreciate the striking character of the change that has taken place. The clearest expression of the Hiberno-Saxon style is in the folios that bear the great initials, such as that containing the opening words of St. Matthew's Gospel (Pl. VI) in a rather later manuscript known as the *Grimbald Gospels* (p. 10). If we look back from this to St. Etheldrythe (Pl. III), we see that the Saint has the same impersonal and purely decorative value as the big letter L, and if we look back to earlier Irish or Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts we can see at once the source of this type of big letter.

There is, however, one folio in the *Benedictional of St. Ethelwold*, the portrait of St. Benedict (Pl. V), that illustrates the assertion of a native taste better than any other illumination in Winchester art. Here figure, frame, and all are bound up into a rich and heavy spread of colour, a ponderous superstructure of purple, gold, and green set off by spaces of duller green and pinkish mauve. If the Saint's face be covered, the figure itself loses its identity as a body and merges into the stiff imprisoning ornament around it. The whole page, in fact, a showy display of abstract ornament encompassing a little white central spot of quasi-classical art. The painter did not try to represent an isolated real-life figure enthroned beneath a curtained arch through which the light streams. On the contrary, in order to avoid any sense of the natural landscape and interspaces of real light, he has sprinkled the letters of the inscription on such fragments of sky as are left, and the whole folio is recognizable as an extreme statement of the barbaric taste in Saxon art. It is, indeed, not too much to say that it is directly comparable in accent and kind with an Evangelist folio in the *Book of Kells*. (for example, St. John, f. 291 v.), and nothing could more plainly reveal the irrepressible element of the old insular manner that so curiously contributes to the excellence of even some of the grandest examples of the Winchester style.

How, then, did this insular style re-assert itself? To a small

extent no doubt from the surviving manuscripts of the early Church still in England. The change to the classical taste does not mean that noble books like the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Book of Chad, and the Book of Cerne had been banished. Athelstan must have seen the Lindisfarne Gospels when he worshipped at the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and that this famous work, or one very like it, did deeply impress the later artist is shown by the fact that the group of figures in one of its Evangelist's pictures was copied in the tenth century in a Winchester manuscript, now at Copenhagen, and given an Hiberno-Saxon frame of interlacing bands. Nevertheless, the main source of the insular character of Winchester art was not the example of our own manuscripts here, but the foreign books illustrating the Continental version of the Hiberno-Saxon taste, namely manuscripts of the Franco-Saxon school, many of which came into the English libraries at the time of the monastic revival. These were written in north-east France, Belgium, and north Germany, and they are the works of Carolingian and Ottonian artists who were perpetuating designs that had first been taught to the Franks by Irish and Saxon monks in the eighth century.<sup>1</sup>

Here we find the abstract patterned page and the great initial letters in Hiberno-Saxon frames, letters that very closely resemble in structure Winchester initials like that in Plate VI, having the same panelled main lines and interlace ends and occasional animal-head terminals. This the Winchester scribe recognized as the art of his own ancestors returned to him with, so to speak, the blessing of the Church abroad, and it is not surprising that the influence of this ancestral art should thereafter be discernible in his own work; but, in general, the Winchester artist put acanthus pattern into the panels of the letters instead of interlace-fillings, kept the interlace for the terminal crowns of these big initials, and did not allow the animal-heads, unless it were the classical lion-head in full glory (Pl. XXVII, 1), to be more than unobtrusive details.

If, therefore, we take from Continental art on the one hand the Franco-Saxon system of ornament and the originally insular types of the large initial, and, on the other hand, the figure-style and the acanthus from Carolingian manuscripts like those

<sup>1</sup> For a study of Franco-Saxon art, its origins and influence, see G. L. Micheli, *L'Enluminure du haut moyen âge*. Brussels, 1939. p. 152-64.

of the Ada and Metz schools, we have sufficient ingredients to explain our Winchester sources, and it is not necessary to discuss them more fully. However, on the subject of the classical origins, it is instructive to refer to the very striking comparison made by Dr. Otto Homburger<sup>1</sup> between the Nativity and the Baptism (Pl. IV, 2) scenes in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold and those on the ivory casket, work of the Metz school of the ninth or tenth century, now at Brunswick. This is a most direct and convincing indication of the Continental foundation of the Winchester style as regards iconography, and it brings us back to our subject of the classical kind of figure-drawing.

The full achievement of Winchester art includes many essays and experiments. We have seen that one artist copied an Evangelist picture in the Lindisfarne Gospels or in a similar manuscript. Another, a real classicist in style and temper, when he painted the illustrations in the Gospels in the Library of York Minster, tried to preserve the outspoken classicism of the 'Palace School' in Carolingian art, and set his figures against a spacious airy background that is bordered by a severely functional frame. The Evangelists' figures at York are, however, exceptional. In general the taste for a purely decorative composition prevails over all other tendencies, and the development of the figure-style and its setting, after the stage of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, is illustrated by the Grimbald Gospels in the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> the manuscript containing the 'great initial' folio (Pl. VI) of which we have already spoken. It is probably New Minster work of the early eleventh century. Unfortunately the finest pages in the Grimbald Gospels do not make good photographs, as they are decorated with silver that has oxidized into dark blotches; but in spite of this accidental disfigurement the manuscript is still one of the most lovely works of art in the whole Winchester group. Reproduced here (Pl. VII) are two details of the St. Matthew folio, the upper portion of the Evangelist seated at his desk and his symbol, the Angel, in the top right-hand corner of the same page. The colouring is no less remarkable than the drawing; for example, the Angel has halo, sleeves, and tunic of gold, a light purple cloak, and wings of brilliant blue and emerald green with gold borders; and the calm, gracious beauty of these figures is so obvious that

<sup>1</sup> *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester*. Leipzig, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 34,890.

it scarcely needs comment. Yet there is an important new elegance in the Grimbald style, the beginning of which we noted in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold. We observe, first of all, the buoyant lightness of these massively conceived personages; for here we have one of the supreme enchantments of the best Saxon paintings, namely that the people in it are so delicately poised that they seem to float rather than to sit or stand. Next, we notice the strong oblique thrust of the Evangelist's head due to the powerful single line of the neck and chin; also the clean crisp ridges of his cloak with its now prominent little pipe-like rolls; and, finally, the pretty zig-zag sketching at the ends of the folds, especially on the cloak of the angel. In fact, what has happened is that the stolidity of the St. Etheldrythe kind of figure (Pl. III) has disappeared, for all these people of the Grimbald Gospels are drawn with a sketchy sensitive liveliness and have alert and intelligent expressions.

Another illustration of this most important change in the Saxon figural style is the Crucifixion picture (Pl. VIII) of the British Museum Psalter known as Harley 2904. It is a drawing most delicately executed in light blue, light brown, red, and dark umber, and it was done at Ramsey in Huntingdonshire in the period 974-86.<sup>1</sup> The Psalter is therefore within a year or two the contemporary of the Benedictional; but we have only to compare the figure of St. Etheldrythe with that of the Virgin in the Harley 2904 Crucifixion to see that the drawing in this Psalter is of a significantly different kind. It is the work, first of all, of an artist of such extraordinary personal ability that we feel we should recognize his hand again if we are ever lucky enough to find other manuscripts containing his drawings;<sup>2</sup> but though the Crucifixion has this outstanding individual quality, in its general style it is characteristic of a whole school of drawings that are plainly distinguished by the use of an excessively nervous and sensitive line, one that often, particularly at the edges of the robes, seems to flutter and fall in little cascades and corkscrews of wavy strokes. And not only does the

<sup>1</sup> Charles Niver, *Kingsley Porter Memorial Studies*. Harvard, 1939. II, p. 667.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that the Trinity, Cambridge, 'Boethius' (O. 3. 7) contains a figure of Philosophy (f. 1) by the Harley 2904 master; but I am not convinced that this attribution is correct.

entire drawing almost tremble in its felicitous lightness and beauty, but the personages depicted now play their parts with an intensified dramatic poignancy. Once again compare the Virgin of this Crucifixion (Pl. VIII) with St. Etheldrythe (Pl. III) in order to see at once that this is so.

The Crucifixion picture in Harley 2904 is, in fact, unlike the Athelstan manuscripts and most of the pictures in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold a drawing influenced by a plainly recognizable Byzantine style, a style based on the distinct and vividly impressionistic classical art that is so well known in the Catacomb paintings and wall-decorations of the Roman houses. It may be described as the Hellenistic tradition, and exactly how this refreshing influence made itself felt on Saxon art is not precisely known. In general, we connect it with a Continental manner of drawing known as the Rheims style. When Charlemagne became Emperor, he had caused his scribes to imitate various Byzantine and Italian works of art, and among several antique styles that thus enjoyed a Carolingian renaissance was the Hellenistic manner that had survived in Byzantium and elsewhere on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Thus the 'Palace Group' of paintings are genuinely Byzantine, and even after Charlemagne's immediate influence was ended, the scribes of Rheims continued to paint according to the traditions of the Hellenistic models accessible to them; and it is in this Rheims School, where was born the 'Rheims Style', that we find the most faithful reproductions, or perhaps one should say re-interpretations, of the Hellenistic manner. The most celebrated Continental example of this particular antique manner is the Utrecht Psalter, and though this single ninth-century manuscript cannot perhaps be expected to bear all the responsibility now placed upon it, its general importance is undeniable, and we know that a copy of it was made in England about the year 1000 at St. Augustine's, Canterbury (British Museum, Harley 603). Our two illustrations from this copy (Pl. IX) include a crowd-detail (f. 52b), part of the drawing for Psalm 105, showing the Psalmist surrounded by 'the seed of Abraham' and the 'children of Jacob' (verse 6), and part of the drawing for Psalm 41, a rocky landscape in the centre of which we see the Psalmist and, below him, the scene at the empty sepulchre. The English copy so faithfully records the style of the original that it is a witness

not merely to the vivacity and swift impressionist charm of the Utrecht Psalter itself, but likewise to the enthusiasm with which the Saxon artists followed the Rheims manner. This vivid, nervous drawing they found to be both congenial and easy to imitate, and we can now see that it was the influence of the Rheims style that explains the dramatic power of the Crucifixion picture in Harley 2904 (Pl. VIII); for we do not have to look further than the Utrecht Psalter to find the source of the figures of the Virgin and St. John; and we can quickly recognize in it the little thrusting heads with their chins and necks almost in one line, and the vivid gestures and excited expressions with their glancing eyes that we shall discover are typical of the most impressive Saxon drawings. Here, too, we have the origin of that most attractive Saxon turbulence and restlessness due to the winds blowing and the fluttering of robes.

Though it is the work of more than one artist, the copy of the Utrecht Psalter gives an English version of Rheims art that is keeping close to the original. Therefore we ask in what respects similar scenes in the two manuscripts differ, for the answer is likely to reveal certain confirmed tendencies of Saxon art. Do we find in England, for example, a more sober and more stolid version, such as an Athelstan period artist would have made of such a fiery original? On the contrary, the English copy is if anything more exaggerated in the stormy violence of the drawing, and more mannered in its vigorous and swiftly varying line. I reproduce (Pl. X) a detail from the illustration to Psalm 14, first in the copy Harley 603, and secondly in the original Psalter, the subject being the horsemen accompanying the captive women and children. It is obvious that the English version is even more powerful and dramatic than that in the Rheims original. There is a greater thrust forward; the forelegs of the horses are raised higher; their hind legs are stretched further back; and the long lances are more impressively and aggressively held.

There is, however, one difference that lessens the vivid naturalism of the English drawing, namely that it is drawn in gay soft colours, creamy blues, browns, and reds, with light touches of green and lilac and little spots of dark umber for hair and spearheads. It is an enchantingly gay essay in delicate colouring, and the drawings have therefore an ornamental polychrome effect that is lacking in the original. With this goes

an appreciable weakening in the modelling and a somewhat coarser definition of the figures and the landscapes. The Crucifixion of Harley 2904 is, as we have seen, similarly tinted, and indeed embellished with some gay pattern-drawing on Our Lady's robe; and it must be recognized that in works like Harley 603 and Harley 2904 the English joy in a brightly coloured design results in a lessening of the vivid sketchiness and freshness of the Rheims drawing, and gives an entirely insular value of an abstract decorative kind to the pictures that we do not find in the originals. We saw that the paintings in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold and in the Grimbald Gospels were designed first and foremost as ornamental units, and so too a scene in the English copy of the Utrecht Psalter, or the Harley 2904 Crucifixion, is primarily a pattern rather than a picture. That this should be so is a part of their English character.

The influence of the Rheims style on Winchester painting and drawing is so significant and so frequently observed that we must look at other examples of the English work in this manner. Not only is it important because this light, animated variety of Winchester art expresses so aptly the genius of the pre-Conquest artist; but it is also important because it is above all in this Rheims-type work that we find the supreme manifestation of Saxon draughtsmanship from which something, so I think, does survive to become part of the English tradition.

The next example (Pl. XI) of the Rheims-Winchester painting comes from the Missal of Robert of Jumièges at Rouen, a manuscript known to have been illuminated in the period 1013-17.<sup>1</sup> It is shown open at pages 164b-5, two of the best-preserved and most brilliantly coloured folios in this lovely book. The green-haired St. Andrew, who has a blue mantle and is seated against a magnificent background of yellow and pinkish brown, is a noble drawing by a Winchester artist who was probably of Celtic origin. His Celtic manner is not so obvious here as in his St. Peter (f. 131b), a figure with bright blue hair and an Irish-type face,<sup>2</sup> but the fingers of the hand over the book in the St. Andrew folio show the Celtic character to which

<sup>1</sup> Rouen Bibliothèque, MS. Y. 6. It is really a Sacramentary, probably Winchester or Canterbury work.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*. Van Oest, 1926. Pl. 13b.

I refer. The general drawing style, however, is typical of the Rheims-Winchester manner, and thus to the powerful gaiety of the colours and the splendid flashing of the gold is added a swift brilliant draughtsmanship that invests the whole design with a pulsating and insistent strength.

Let us notice also two beautiful folios in an eleventh-century manuscript of the Gospels in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS. 709) that was once at Weingarten. The first (Pl. XII) is a painting of the Crucifixion that has a characteristic English richness of colour. The background is the uncoloured vellum and the border is gold; the sky is creamy blue, the wavy bands being shaded with white and black lines; the cross is olive green and blue; the hair of Christ is dark red and His body has the ribs and muscles sketched in a faint red line; His tunic is blue picked out with white. The Virgin has a blue head-cloth and a pale buff gown with brown shading and a surcharged decoration in primrose yellow. The donor, perhaps the Countess Judith of Flanders, wife of Earl Tostig, at the foot of the cross wears a similarly patterned robe. The haloes, the books, and the crescents of the sun and moon, are of gold. The figures are slender, and in their strong graceful movements represent to perfection the felicitous lightness of handling and the dramatic emotional content of the finest English work in this manner. These qualities we see again, but with an additional violence of gesture and harsh clarity of outline, in the St. Luke picture (Pl. XIII). The Evangelist has mauve hair, a light pinky red tunic, a blue cloak, and chair-wrappings of pale purple and pale green. The ends of the golden scroll are crimson, and the wild wavy acanthus leaves that thrust themselves through and around the golden frame are blue and green and mauve. The emaciated but powerful figure is distinguished by the upward thrust of his head, indicated by the diagonal line of the neck and chin, and by his glancing eyes and squared face; and all this we know to be due to the influence of the Utrecht style. The hard thin hands and the ugly feet with their splayed toes are perhaps a legacy from the Hiberno-Saxon tradition rather than from the Continental style; but they contribute to a total effect of anguished linear excitement which had become by this time the peculiar virtue of English drawing.

The next picture (Pl. XIV) is the beautiful coloured drawing

of the Trinity on the first folio of the Saxon copy of the Utrecht Psalter (British Museum, Harley 603). The artist of this daring composition in vivid grass-green and pale red belonged to the school of the Master of the Harley 2904 Crucifixion, and though his drawing is scratchy and occasionally incoherent, it is difficult to think of anything in Saxon art more moving than the two tenderly yearning heads of the Father and Son that press against each other in a close and loving embrace. It is an extraordinarily personal interpretation of a theme that is usually a subject for coldly austere and majestic treatment.<sup>1</sup> This gloomier mood and manner were also within the range of the Saxon artist's power, for we find them in the solemn Christ (Pl. XV, 2) of the Gospels, probably a Canterbury manuscript, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. B. 10. 4). In this splendid painting the hair and beard are greyish blue; the face is heavily modelled with white paint; the crown and the cloak are gold; the halo olive green, and the robe lilac; the background against which the figure is seen is pink, and the border of the mandorla a royal blue. It is a harsh, gaudy painting, very like the Missal of Robert of Jumièges in general style. We must note in it the hard pipe-like rolls into which the folds of the cloak are gathered on the shoulder, for this is a characteristic 'late Winchester' accentuation of the original drapery-style of the Dunstan drawing (Pl. I).

In spite of the glaring grandeur of the colours, this painting is perhaps exceptional in the Byzantine gloominess of the Christ's countenance, and to return to the more vivacious Winchester manner we may now look at one of the first of the English historiated initials (Pl. XV, 1) coming from a Canterbury Psalter<sup>2</sup> of 1012-23 in the British Museum (Arundel 155). The subject is David slaying Goliath. It is a daring, sketchy thing, with the figures coarsely silhouetted by a blue outline wash; but the drawing has in full measure the exaggerated vehemence of the English 'Rheims' manner, and the whole design has a characteristically agitated movement and a typically vivid play of light and energetic lines.

The Crucifixion of Harley 2904 (Pl. VIII) which we love as

<sup>1</sup> On the Harley 603 Trinity, see E. H. Kantorowicz, *Art Bulletin*, XXIX, 1947, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest English historiated initials are in the eighth-century Canterbury Psalter, Vespasian A. 1.

our principal illustration of the Rheims manner in England is a line-drawing, and it is in the drawings that we find the fullest and most fluent expression of this brilliant pre-Conquest style. I do not think it is too much to say that in them, achieved with an obvious gusto, is the first complete accomplishment of the national aesthetic genius. It is difficult to give any idea of the variety and quantity of this splendid material, but a few illustrations will at least establish beyond doubt the extraordinary and sensitive skill of the Saxon artist.

The Psalter Tiberius C. VI in the British Museum was badly damaged by the fire in the Cotton Library, but its charred and tattered pages still contain the largest and most varied series of drawings that we possess. The grand picture of Christ at the mouth of Hell (Pl. XVI) is remarkable for the gigantic proportions of the tenderly beautiful main figure and for the amazing ferocity of the manacled and fettered devil on whom He tramples. The English artist loved this subject of Hell (cf. Pls. XX, 2, XXVI, XXXVII, 1). It gave him opportunity to depict animal-savagery with the old barbaric zest; and though the drawing is not faultless (note the two eyes of the devil whose nose and mouth are seen in profile), the effect of the picture is one of very great power. The borrowing straight out of Saxon barbaric art of the snarling winged biped beneath the sprawling devil is a dramatic reinforcement of the horrors of the Inferno.

The drawings in the Canterbury 'Easter Tables' in the British Museum (Caligula A. XV) were done very near the date of the Conquest (Pl. XVII). They are gaily tinted in green and red, and thus illustrate the jewel-like ornamental effect which sometimes masks the vivid penwork of the English artist; but the colouring does not really obscure the tempestuous activity of the scenes that they present to us, Christ in Majesty handing the instructions for determining Easter to the Archangel, and, in the next picture, the Archangel giving them to the fourth-century Egyptian hermit, St. Pachomius. The tremendous power of these lively little pictures needs no comment. The spirited dancing impatience of the figures attendant on the Christ is balanced by the ecstatic collapse of St. Pachomius and his friends whose gesticulating hands and swaying bodies fitly symbolize their amazement at the boon vouchsafed them from Heaven. The composition of this second

picture with its strong diagonals is instantly delightful, and it is an added attraction to the effervescent eagerness of the whole sketch that these excited people were even unable to keep their feet tidily within the appointed space of the frame.

The next drawing is one of some historical significance, as I shall later remark (p. 108). It is taken from the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster at Winchester, a register and martyrology of 1016–20 in the British Museum (Stowe 944), and it shows (Pl. XVIII) the Danish king of England, Cnut, and his half-English half-Norman wife, Aelfgifu-Emma, the widow of King Ethelred, placing a golden cross on the altar of the Minster. Angels support the king's crown and the Queen's veil, and point upwards to the figure of Christ Majesty in a mandorla flanked by the patron Saints of the monastery, the Virgin and St. Peter, while at the foot of the picture is a little sketch of the monks in their stalls. The book held by Christ is tinted yellow, and so is the cross, which has terminal mouldings of red and green; but otherwise the picture is a simple line-drawing executed in the finest and most graceful Winchester manner. The page commemorates a dramatically triumphant moment in the life of Cnut, the Viking now established as the champion of Christendom, and it witnesses to the complete victory of the classical art of Western Christianity over the favourite barbaric style of the conquering Dane and his armies. To this matter we shall return when we discuss the significance of Scandinavian art in England.

Let us now look at some lesser drawings and details, the first of them (Pl. XIX, 1) being a marginal sketch in the eleventh-century *Bury St. Edmunds Psalter* in the Vatican Library (Reg. Lat. 12). It is done in dark red and umber, and accompanies Psalm 82, the verse 'Oh my God make them like a wheel; as the stubble before the wind', the astonishing figure that somersaults backwards representing the downfall of the enemy. It is difficult to find a more brilliant sketch in the whole of Saxon art. Another illustration (Pl. XIX, 2) is a detail from the *Penetential of Archbishop Egbert* in the Bodleian Library (MS. 718), probably late tenth-century work. This is a powerful English exercise in the manner of the *Utrecht Psalter*, and the single line made by the chin and neck reflects very clearly the vigorous upward thrust of the head so characteristic of the

Utrecht style. The drapery is illogical and the enormous hands are grotesque exaggerations; but the effect of the sketch is vigorous and impressive. The next picture (Pl. XX, 1) is a gracious drawing from one of the many manuscripts of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, in this case a Malmesbury manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 23), the detail selected representing *Sobrietas* and the Virtues. It is a sketch of the most moving charm, and it is outlined in red, umber, and green. The last illustration in this group is a detail (Pl. XX, 2) of the picture of Hell in the New Minster Register to which I have already referred (p. 18). No Saxon drawing is more vivid or vigorous than this, and one must call special attention to the foreshortened sprawling figure in the lower part of the picture. The eleventh-century Saxon artist who drew this was afraid of no difficulties in the presentation of animated gesture and contorted limbs. This is the Winchester style almost completely emancipated from the conventions of the formative traditions; indeed, we may take it as a triumphant expression of the freedom won by the English artist after a hundred years of experiment in the classical manner of Western Christendom.

When the eleventh century was well advanced, probably close to the time of the Conquest, a powerful exterior influence interrupted the natural development of the Winchester style and introduced a cold metallic rigidity into the swift and graceful drawing that we have been admiring. This new influence, however, operated in a strictly limited field during the Saxon period, and important though it becomes after the Conquest, we may deal briefly with the matter here by a reference to only two pre-Conquest manuscripts.

The first is a Psalter, believed to have been written at the New Minster in Winchester, that is now in the British Museum where it is known as Arundel 60. It consists of portions with and without a Saxon gloss, and there is a possibility that its illuminations represent two periods of work, but these two periods can hardly be more than a few years apart and in my judgement the illuminations are uniform in style, so it is not, I think, a distortion of fact to treat the Psalter as a single witness to the new art. The profound change in style is at once revealed by the Crucifixion folio (Pl. XXI, 2), a truly remarkable work characterized by severe schematization, bleak hardness of

outline, painfully emphasized anatomical detail in the woeful figure of the dead Christ, and a cold colouring. There is no gold or silver. The cross is of cool shaded blue with a reeded border of dull pink and white, and the trees are purple with blue mushroom tops. In this page the acanthus frame will pass as in the Winchester tradition, and the manuscript's Great Initials are certainly Saxon in structure, though not in the detail of their ornament; but the Crucifixion drawing is equally obviously not typical Winchester work and must be closely dependent on an exemplar in a totally different and foreign style. Elsewhere in the Psalter there is another Crucifixion picture (Pl. XXI, 1), tinted in green and red and blue, and this, on the contrary, is iconographically and in form a Winchester design;<sup>1</sup> but the new spirit that we call the Arundel 60 style has most strangely altered the draughtsmanship, for the garments lack the fluttering freedom and the pretty sketchiness of the typical Winchester drapery, and there is a sense of a still and inert solemnity, as in the painted folio. It is as though the wind had suddenly dropped.

There is another sign of a changed style on the 'Beatus' page, for the scroll-ornament of the Great Initial (Pls. XXVII, 3, LXXXIX, 2) is a new thing in Saxon art, though the initial itself and the general design of the folio are in the established Winchester manner. The pattern has now become an inhabited acanthus scroll containing an active climbing man in a Phrygian cap and a seated figure of David the Harper, both persons being remarkable for the largeness of their eyes. This gives us a clue to the source of the foreign influence that has so strangely altered the manner of Winchester painting, for the athletic climber suggests that the appearance of such a scroll in England in the middle of the eleventh century must be connected with the revival of antique art at Hildesheim for which Bishop Bernward (d. 1022) was responsible; for it is through the medium of his celebrated candlesticks that European art knew again the ancient inhabited scroll of this very sort with little men climbing vigorously in the branches. Archbishop Aldred of York (1061-9) placed in Beverley Minster a pulpitum and rood of brass, gold, and silver which was described as 'opus Teutonicum', and we have therefore

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Titus D. XXVII, f. 65b, a comparison already made by Mr. J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*. London, 1911. p. 132.

certain knowledge that a German fashion did intrude into the art of this country.<sup>1</sup> Here is a background for the suggestion that the style of Arundel 60 is German too, and such an origin, I think, can be established by a study of the contemporary manuscripts illustrated in the second volume of Dr. Goldschmidt's *German Illumination*.<sup>2</sup>

The very important arrival of the 'Hildesheim' scroll which, as we shall see, made a considerable impression upon English art in the post-Conquest period, seems to have had an immediate effect on the acanthus patterns in Arundel 60, for it is partly designed in the form of running scrolls and thus differs from the normal Winchester acanthus border; but the main interest of the manuscript is in the alteration of the figural style into a frigid manner more typical of the twelfth century than the eleventh so far as English illumination is concerned. There are, however, some other signs in Winchester work of occasional experiment in this direction;<sup>3</sup> but there is only one other important manuscript that shows it completely achieved, namely the Hereford Troper<sup>4</sup> in the British Museum (Caligula A. XIV). The miniatures in this work are most remarkable exercises in a mainly foreign style that again seems to be of German, particularly of Reichenau, origin. The most notable thing about them is the hard crumpling of the draperies into something rather like metal sheeting, almost an enamel style; another peculiarity is the stylization of the men's hair and beards, and the exaggeration of the Byzantine head-band of the woman into a kind of peaked hat; but the unforgettable thing about the Hereford Troper is the colouring, a glaring composition in reddish brown and primrose yellow being a favourite. The general style is seen in the picture of St. Elizabeth with the infant John the Baptist and Zacharius (Pl. XXII, 2) and of St. Stephen (Pl. XXII, 1), who has robes of red and gold that show at the waist a curious forcing of the robes into hard

<sup>1</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. James Raine, II (1886), pp. 353-4. Professor Hamilton Thompson has noted the possible connexion with Bernard's work at Hildesheim, *V.C.H. Yorks.*, III, p. 9, note. For German craftsmen in England at this time, cf. also the testimony of William of Poitiers, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLIX, 1267.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, Pl. 96b.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Tiberius C. VI, f. 18b.

<sup>4</sup> 'Hereford' because the paintings are related stylistically to the Gospel Lectons at Pembroke, Cambridge (MS. 302), which have a Hereford provenance.

starchy pleats.<sup>1</sup> This whole page, though it is warm-coloured and glitters richly, is heavy and motionless, and the same sense of a tinny pattern killing the Winchester gentleness of manner can be seen in the crowded Ascension folio.<sup>2</sup> The Troper, however, does not by any means succeed in anticipating the roomy Byzantine rigidity and the chilly calm of our post-Conquest manuscripts; indeed, it still possesses something of the bright flickering lights and stirring exuberance of the finest Winchester paintings. The odd thing is, however, that in addition to what we may call its Winchester roots, it also seems to have a recognizable Celtic or Hiberno-Saxon feel. The figural abstractions in the Elizabeth scene are really not far removed from the dead pattern-renderings of the Irish and Northumbrian artists; the frame of the picture is a barbaric interlacing ribbon; and the inscription surrounding it is used ornamentally like the marginal border of little red dots in an Irish manuscript. We must not make too much of this insular element in the Troper style, and the probability is that it does not significantly concern our present story; but we should remember this rather interesting evidence of the power of a partly suppressed native aesthetic instinct to take advantage of any weakening or change in the official art of the age by re-asserting the ancient temper of the original Christian art of this island. The lesson is, I think, that the Winchester discipline was only a governing rule of taste.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Bury Psalter, Vatican Reg. Lat. 12, f. 22. The source must be something like the Reichenau 'box' folds, see A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II, Pls. 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, Pl. 29a.

## II

### WINCHESTER ILLUMINATION: THE SCIENTIFIC BOOKS

THE manuscripts that have been used to illustrate the main development of the Winchester style are religious texts containing either portions of the Bible or the liturgies of the Church; they do not, however, represent the full range of the Saxon painter's subjects, and to continue the account something must be said about the scientific books. The most remarkable thing is, of course, the witness they bear to the revival of ancient learning in England; but here the interest lies in the kind of pictures we find in them rather than in the value of the books as vehicles for the transmission of the natural science of Greece and Rome. For example, the astronomical manuscripts show us more plainly than any religious text how powerful was the classical spirit animating English work in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The best example of this is a West Saxon text of *c.* 1000, a copy of Cicero's 'Aratea', which is a version of the 'Phainomena' of Aratus, a Greek poet of the third century B.C. (British Museum, Tiberius B. V). The English book is not taken directly from the antique, but was copied by the Saxon artist from a Carolingian manuscript of the ninth century that is known to have been at Canterbury in the late tenth century and still survives (British Museum, Harley 647). A single illustration will serve us. It was the practice to make a picture of the constellation, using the actual stars as a kind of punctuation, and Aquarius (Pl. XXIII, 1) represents the type. Obviously he is a classical figure with garments in the antique fashion; and though the dress is in fact inaccurate and drawn with a certain Winchester licence, it is clear enough that the Saxon artist was nevertheless reproducing with reasonable faithfulness the French model before him, and was thus conscientiously preserving both the learning and the art of the ancients.

As we might expect, now that we know something of the Winchester talent, the Saxon painter did not always content himself, when copying the scientific texts, with the rather dull

exercises in the antique style such as we see in this manuscript. Thus in another English version of the same astronomical poem (British Museum, Harley 2506) we find that the classical originals are very charmingly translated into the Winchester style proper, as Sagittarius (Pl. XXIII, 2) shows. A more familiar example of the translation of classical archetypes into real Saxon work is to be seen in the Calendar pictures, for both the well-known British Museum sets of panels illustrating the occupations of the months are in the Winchester manner (Pl. XXIV, 1-3), one (Julius A. VI) in a brilliant 'Utrecht Psalter' style (Pl. XXIV, 1), and the other (Tiberius B. V) by an able but less gifted Saxon artist who spoilt his honest Winchester drawing (Pl. XXIV, 2, 3) by clumsy colouring, mostly in jade green and vermillion. If we want to see what the illustrations in Tiberius B. V would have looked like had they been a cheerful but plodding copywork unenlivened by any Saxon genius, we must turn back to a religious text and examine the simple school-book pictures (Pl. XXIV, 4) in Ælfric's translation of the Pentateuch and Joshua into Anglo-Saxon (British Museum, Claudius B. IV), an eleventh-century manuscript that was formerly in the medieval library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

In the scientific books, also, there are many examples of this duller sort of painting that follows the Continental models awkwardly and with none of the Saxon graces. Plenty of them are to be found in a medical treatise based on the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus* of Sextus Placitus (British Museum, Vitellius C. III). Thus, for the bite of an ape, smear with bull's gall—and these instructions are illustrated by a rather crude picture of an ape (Pl. XXV, 3); to take away any ill spot from the body, use elephant's bone (ivory) pounded with honey—the accompanying drawing being that of an elephant (Pl. XXV, 3), an odd-looking beast with a spotted body, an enormous tail, and huge claws. It is not easy to comment on such paintings. They are not really Saxon in style; but they are nevertheless copies so far removed from the originals that they do perhaps possess some value as well-intentioned native inventions. I do not think we can say more than that. It is, however, interesting to note that whereas unfamiliar subjects such as the ape and the elephant are just these amusingly conventionalized sketches of little merit, when the subject was an animal that the Saxon

artist knew, he could give a much more powerful and convincing rendering of the real animal. For the bite of a snake the cure is a hart's horn, so the picture is of a stag (Pl. XXV, 2) done in bright purple with white streaks and dashes. It is not a naturalistic version, but a clever stylized statement of what the actual beast looks like, the sort of thing that the pre-Roman Briton did so well. The artist has given a decisive clarity to details that he understood and had seen for himself; and in such passages as the shaggy hair on the breast, the forward slouch of the head and shoulders, and the stumpy tail, he has symbolized familiar peculiarities of the animal that could be verified by direct reference to the beast itself. He makes no attempt, however, to be natural in the classical way; but he uses so successfully the ancient barbaric apparatus of symbolism that, though his stag is a purple abstraction, we know it is a stag, and a good one.

Thus with animal-subjects there was always the chance that the Saxon artist might be inspired to paint enthusiastically and convincingly; but with plant-life there were no such prospects. In the same manuscript (Vitellius C. III) is a Saxon copy of the *Herbarium* of Apuleius, and the illustrations to this section of the text are simply painstaking imitations of the pictures in the original. I illustrate (Pl. XXV, 1) the drawings of solwherf, a kind of marigold, and of madder. We cannot say how closely they follow the pictures that the artist was reproducing, but it is probable that they do so with tolerable closeness. What is certain is that the Saxon illuminator did not trouble himself to refer to nature, or to invent any symbolism that would assist in the interpretation of his picture. He was not interested—no Saxon was—in the problems connected with the depicting of real plants and flowers. In little half-naturalistic sketches like the Calendar pictures (Pl. XXIV), if he wanted to draw a tree, he simply drew the universal Saxon symbol for plant-life, an acanthus-scroll. This was not the best he could do, because he had copied accurately the splendid and life-like trees in the Utrecht Psalter,<sup>1</sup> and he knew one or two simple conventional forms such as the 'shaving-brush' (Pl. XXIV, 3) and, in the late manuscript Arundel 60, the 'mushroom' (Pl. XXI); but in general his accustomed acanthus pattern was sufficient as an indication of natural vegetation. Thus, in the 'Marvels of the

<sup>1</sup> e.g. folio 51b of Harley 603.

East' (British Museum, Tiberius B. V), the 'tree on which gems grow and sprout' is simply a handsome acanthus spray, a very pretty ornament, but not in the least like a real tree or a shrub.

The 'Marvels of the East' is a copy of a travel-book describing journeys in remote and improbable lands.<sup>1</sup> There was no question of any west European artist having knowledge of the original subjects, and the pictures are just straight-forward and rather unattractive copies of some probably very dull illustrations in a Continental version. Sometimes, however, when the subject was a familiar narrative affair of groups of normal personages, for example the picture of the Hospitable Kings, we get an ordinary Saxon rendering of folk who might have come from the pages of some Missal or Benedictional; but when the artist had to deal with the unknown he passed the subject on very much as he found it; and though there is no doubt that the painter was a man of very considerable skill, the majority of his illustrations like the 'Lion-headed Man' and the 'Huge Black Men who are Cannibals' are works without any particular English graces. Yet he too, like the painter of the purple stag, found something to his liking and was inspired to do at least one picture with the full expression of his native Winchester talent. It is the favourite and familiar Saxon subject of Hell. Mambres at the mouth of Hell is a thrilling and important work (Pl. XXVI). The background is green; the great menacing mass of rocks is red; the inside of the mouth of Hell is purple, and the giant monster is iron-grey with red-ringed eyes. The folio is unquestionably the finest secular painting in Anglo-Saxon art; and we shall understand Anglo-Saxon art the better if we remember, as I have just said, that this same artist could not, or would not, draw a tree.

<sup>1</sup> M. R. James, *Marvels of the East*. Oxford, 1929. A Roxburghe Club publication reproducing the three known copies.

### III

#### WINCHESTER ILLUMINATION: INITIALS

ONE of the achievements of the Winchester illuminators was the establishment of the Carolingian acanthus as the normal English foliate ornament. It had, of course, been introduced into this country before their time; but it is in the tenth century that it first becomes a stock pattern in common use. Moreover, it acquired its own Anglo-Saxon form, the special characteristic of the English work being the distortion of the short trilobed leaf into a heavy 'flower' with asymmetrical lateral petals (Pl. XXVII, 2) and the extension of the long leaf into a tendril with a curled-over tip that sometimes clutches a neighbouring stalk or the bar of a frame (Pls. VI, XI, XIII, XXI, XXVII, 1); and, further, the whole design is stirred by a tempestuous dishevelment that is enhanced by the brilliance of the Saxon colouring. The great B, nearly 7 inches long, of the *Beatus Vir folio* (Pl. XXVII, 1) of Harley 2904 is the favourite illustration of an initial ornamented with the Saxon acanthus, and it is indeed a beautiful thing, bright with orange-brown, blue, pale mauve, and plenty of gold. On another folio (151 v.) of the same manuscript there is a much smaller initial B (Pl. XXVII, 2), 2½ inches long, that illustrates a harder and more economical acanthus design, also of Continental origin, done in gold with a narrow red and white outline, and with leaves mostly of lilac, blue, and gold. This sparse and rather wiry style is, however, rare in the grand manuscripts, and the big *Beatus Vir* initial represents the normal Winchester foliage.

Though these 'great initials' are ultimately of Hiberno-Saxon origin, as has been said (p. 9), and though they reappear in English work largely as the result of the influence of the Franco-Saxon style, the structural use of the acanthus in the designing of them is in essence connected with the classical trend in Saxon art. Nevertheless, as a pattern, this foliate ornament presented irresistible opportunities to the insular artist, and there are numerous more modest initials in which the acanthus is used without any reference to the classical taste. These we will call the *Barbaric Initials*.

They are minor designs that are rarely anything more than smallish letters in the pages of the humbler service-books and the ordinary treatises and commentaries on the library shelves; but right at the beginning of our Winchester series of manuscripts in the Life of St. Cuthbert (p. 3) there is a grand pictorial frontispiece (Pl. XXXIII, 1) and, distributed throughout the text, a series of grotesque letters in which acanthus leaves are combined with the heads of birds and beasts, and occasionally with the bodies of birds (Pl. XXVIII, 3, 4), all of them rather heavily coloured in sombre browns and yellows with touches of iron-blue and dull green. These initials may be said to be, in general terms, Hiberno-Saxon in kind, but they are in fact new in type, being a Frankish creation, and introduce novel details into Winchester art. Thus in the letter E the animal-head with the gaping mouth is shown three-quarter view with a protuberant second eye popping out on the far side of the bridge of the nose. This, as we have observed, quickly found its way into Saxon drawing (Pl. XV, 1), but it is in origin a Carolingian mannerism due to the influence of the Utrecht Psalter style. What we are now going to follow is the English development of the ancestral kind of barbaric initial under the influence of this new and largely foreign Corpus 183 acanthus style.

The ninth-century English background to the tenth-century barbaric initials is represented by the sketches in Fig. 1. It would not be easy to prove that these ancient zoomorphic initials remained in frequent use at the time Corpus 183 was painted (c. 935), but the case for continuity is strong. King Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care, written in the last decade of the ninth century, is ornamented with gay little letters derived from the earlier Saxon series; another manuscript of c. 900 in the same tradition is a copy of Aldhelm's *De Laude Virginitatis* (Royal 5 F. 111), probably a Worcester book, that has charming initials with an oddly rustic appearance, the effect being due to the sprouting of isolated and lumpy little groups of leaves on the stems of the letters (Fig. 2, *a, b*). The native style is also continued in the Durham Ritual (Cathedral Library, A. IV 19), a manuscript of the first half of the tenth century, wherein are initials, a few of which are in the rustic manner, though most of them are made up of a broad flat ribbon with interlacements (Fig. 2, *c, d, e, h*). Furthermore,

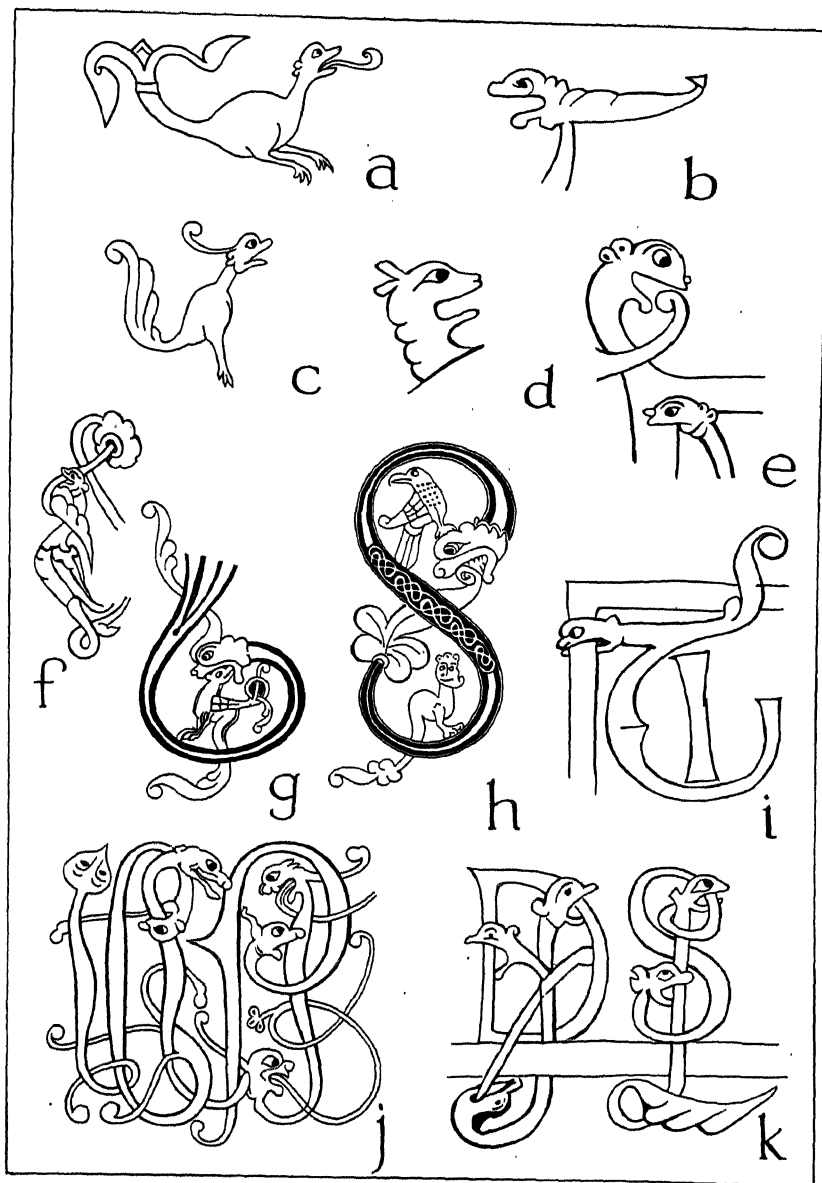


FIG. 1.—Saxon initials, ninth century

*a, c, f, k*, Book of Cerne; *b, e, j*, Rome, Barb. Lat. 570; *d*, Cuthbert Gospels;  
*g*, Royal i.E. VI; *h, i*, Tiberius c. 11

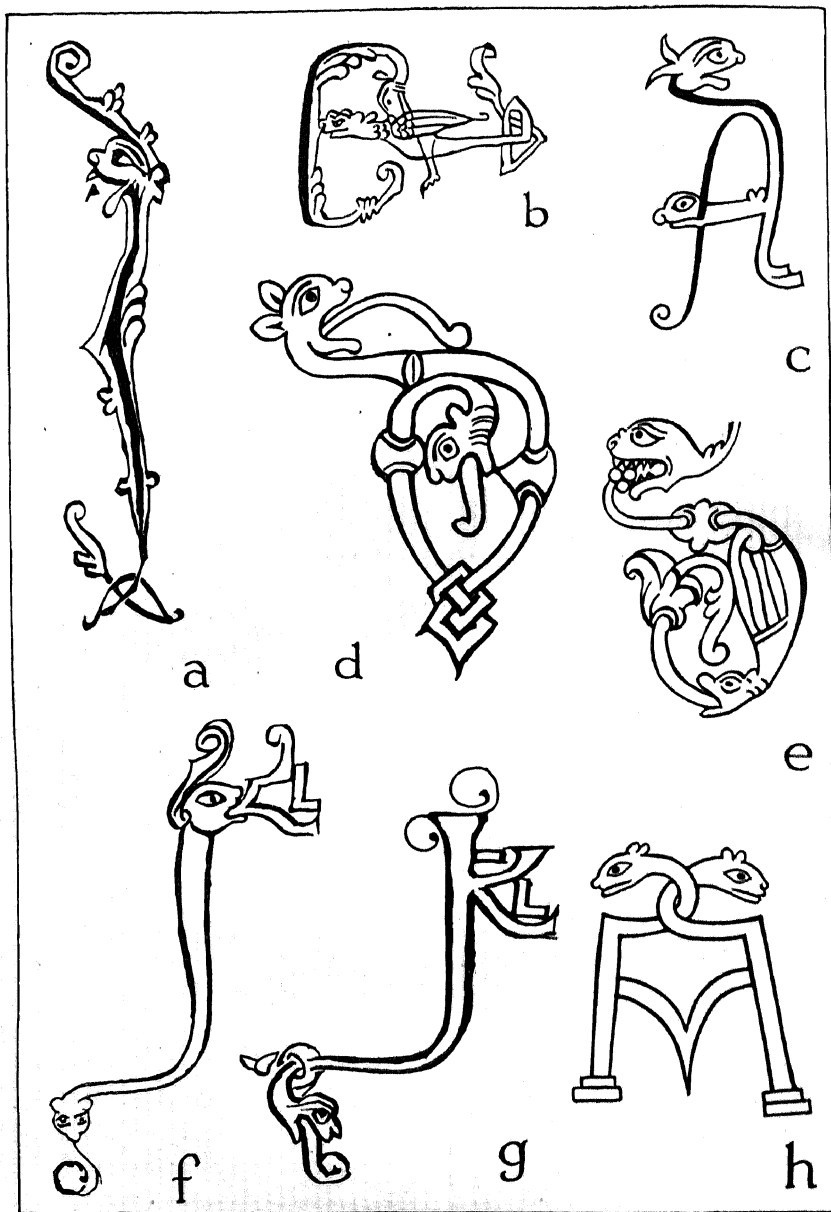


FIG. 2.—Saxon initials, tenth century  
*a, b*, Royal 5 F. III ; *c, d, e, h*, Durham Ritual ; *f, g*, Galba A. XVIII

about 930, that is to say at much the same date as this Ritual and also the Life of St. Cuthbert, we find 'old style' zoomorphic letters in the Calendar attached to the Athelstan Psalter (British Museum, Galba A. XVIII, Fig. 2, *f*, *g*) initials that have delicate hair-spring spirals (ff. 4, 6) and fine tracery of an Hiberno-Saxon kind, and also in some measure a surviving gaiety of colour, though there are also signs of the new taste for a darker and more depressing palette. The native series is represented again in another British Museum 'Aldhelm' (Royal 7 D. XXIV), which belongs to the same period. Here, with the exception of one letter heading an attached Epistle and principally made up of the body of a bird, the initials are formed of soft ribbon-like bands that sometimes tie themselves into little knots of interlace, and have zoomorphic and acanthus terminals and occasional acanthus joints. They are vivacious designs, very much in a style of their own (Pl. XXVIII, 5), and owe little to Continental influence. The structure of the letters had already been suggested in native work, and the jaunty animal-heads are purely Saxon; they are, in fact, direct descendants of the letters with the grimacing zoomorphic serifs in ninth-century Mercian works (Fig. 1), and it may be said in general of the animal-heads in the later initials that they do to a very considerable extent depend on the Mercian tradition. It is true that after the time of the Athelstan Psalter we lose the vigorous 'glancing eye' of the earlier creatures; but the alert expression and the perkiness of the snapping Mercian heads survive, as do the spiral nose, the double ear, and the puckered neck (cf. Figs. 1 and 2, and Pls. XXVIII, XXXI).

With this kind of survival in mind, and remembering also the new Frankish influences evident in the Life of St. Cuthbert, let us look at the initials (Pl. XXVIII, 1 and 2) in yet another manuscript of about 935, an Anglo-Saxon text of Bede's Ecclesiastical History (Bodleian, MS. Tanner 10), an important book to which Dr. Otto Pächt has called attention. We find that a most astonishing manner of designing the initials has been achieved, a wild excitement of biting and somersaulting birds and winged bipeds that twist themselves into a ferocious spinning death-grapple. Nothing abroad suggests itself as a background for the violence and sportive humour of these designs, and all this madness is certainly English, an exaggeration

of the fantasies of earlier designs (Fig. 1, *f*, *g*, *h*); but what is new is the winged biped with the animal-head, the 'popping' eye, the employment of the ring-knot (Pl. XXVIII, 4), the fat ponderous acanthus, and the heavy colouring with its hard jade greens and browns and dull yellows, only very occasionally brightened with flashing vermilions and a rosy pink.

For the sake of simplification it may be said that the Late Saxon barbaric initials are of two kinds, (i) patterns largely made up of complete birds and animal-headed bipeds combined with an acanthus-scroll, and (ii) scrolls with zoomorphic terminals and acanthus details. They are also done in two styles, 'soft' and 'hard'. The 'biped' initials (Pl. XXVIII, 1, 6; Pl. XXIX, 2) are all soft in style; that is to say they are made up of broad ribbon-like bands and fleshy bodies and fat acanthus leaves, and they may be either painted or left as light and open designs. The 'zoomorphic scrolls' are soft (Pl. XXVIII, 5) and hard (Pls. XXXII, XXXIII, 1, 3); and when hard they consist of heavy black-edged or striped bands with very thin wiry tracery. There is no important difference between contemporary initials of the two kinds in the character of the zoomorphic heads and the acanthus details, and both kinds of letters may occur in a single manuscript, either in the same style or in different styles. This means that no chronological or regional significance of any sort can be attached to the two kinds of initials or to the two styles. Yet certain manuscripts and groups of manuscripts show a decided preference for one kind and one style as against the others, and this circumstance helps us to arrange the material in some sort of order.

#### I. SOFT STYLE (BIPED): JUNIUS 27 TYPE

This is the type of Tanner 10, a manuscript in which all the initials are 'soft'. A later stage is represented by the Psalter in the Bodleian Library, Junius 27, probably written in the second half of the tenth century; here among a very large number of 'soft' initials there are only three that are 'hard', and here again the animal-headed winged biped is a main element in the initials, there being only a few that are animal-headed acanthus-scrolls. The heavy and flamboyant acanthus is the hall-mark of the type (Pl. XXVIII, 6), and it must be noted that the colours are not very pretty; in fact, in most of the letters

they are gloomily heavy, like those in the Life of St. Cuthbert, and there is much khaki, dull brown, and very dark blue; but there are occasional touches of light yellow and salmon pink to brighten them, and there are so many initials in Junius 27, and they show such variety and invention, that we get the impression of a joyous and most original style. This type of initial was much used, mainly in the tenth century,<sup>1</sup> and in a later form it will be found in the Cædmon manuscript (Bodley, Junius 11) of the period 1030-50. It contains nineteen biped-

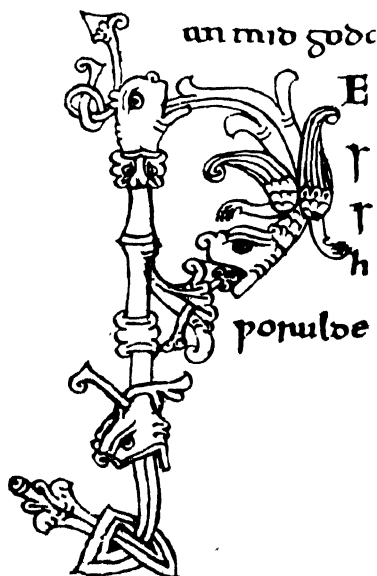


FIG. 3.—Initial, Junius 11, f. 26

type letters and only three that are zoomorphic scrolls. The most notable change, however, is an increase in angularity and jerkiness, and a tendency towards ragged dishevelment (Fig. 3), presumably due to the influence of the Viking taste that was making itself felt in Saxon work just about this time (p. 103). A more straightforward late version can be seen in the Helmingham Hall 'Orosius' and in a Bede text with an Exeter provenance (Corpus, Cambridge, MS. 41), a work of the Conquest period.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Caligula A. VII and Cleopatra A. VI, and in the 'mixed style' Harley 5431 (p. 36).

## 2. SOFT STYLE (BIPED): SALISBURY TYPE

A different type of the soft 'biped' initials decorates a West Saxon Psalter of 970-80 in Salisbury Cathedral (MS. 150). The letters are of the same elaborate form as those in Junius 27, but they are much more prickly in detail, and the colouring is gayer, with plenty of pink, yellow, jade green, and mauve (Pl. XXIX, 2). The 'Salisbury type' is also different in that a wingless animal-headed biped of Mercian origin (Fig. 1, *a*, *c*), is now the favourite creature, and it is a very peculiar beast with an exaggerated pipe-like spine running the length of its plump body and little fleshy rolls projecting from its flanks.<sup>1</sup> This very lively barbaric painting must have flourished in southern England at a date within a few years of the illumination of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, and it is therefore interesting to see how an artist so strongly prejudiced in favour of the ancient insular style dealt with figure-subjects and formal acanthus designs. On one page (Pl. XXIX, 1) there is an arched frame containing a large A, thickly clustered with the barbaric animals, that is surmounted by a nimbed figure in red and brown, and this, though it is not a particularly distinguished work, will at least pass as an ordinary bit of Winchester drawing; but when the artist had to copy a framed row of acanthus leaves, though he started to do so with a painstaking attempt at regularity, he quickly lost patience with such a tiresome exercise that demanded neither invention nor humour on his part, and so his leaves very soon begin to sway tipsily and to acquire a disordered wildness that matches the mood of the fantastic animals careering round the stem of the central letter. As for his respect for architectural structure, we need only remark that he allowed his beloved animals to intrude into the plinths of the columns, from each of which dangle crazily four of the creatures' ludicrous legs. Thus the significance of the barbaric initials as a polarizing influence capable of altering even the classical content of Winchester design is here very plainly illustrated, and we see why it is that they have to be included in the story of Late Saxon art.

<sup>1</sup> The Salisbury type of biped also occurs in Cambridge, Trinity, B. 10. 4, and Cambridge University Library, ff. I. 23.

### 3. SOFT STYLE (ZOOMORPHIC SCROLL): BOSWORTH TYPE

There is an important variety of the 'soft' initial, not of the biped but of the scroll kind, that is found first of all in the Bosworth Psalter in the British Museum (Add. 37517), a Canterbury work of the time of Dunstan (d. 988), and possibly a book prepared for the Archbishop's own use. Some initials in this Psalter are very like those in the Life of St. Cuthbert, and all the animal-heads are of a sort that we have already seen in use, and there is even one biped;<sup>1</sup> yet the three principal letters are nevertheless complicated designs (Pl. XXX, 1, 3) very much in a manner of their own. The main structure of the letter is a bold split-line interlace of even breadth with zoomorphic and foliate details, and it incorporates such unusual features as closed rings and sharp-cornered elbows with an interior acanthus frill. The colouring is also remarkable, for it is to an astonishing degree crude, jarring, and cold. There is no doubt that this extremely peculiar pattern is of foreign origin, and it was probably inspired by one particular variety of Frankish design associated in the first instance with St. Denis. Why it appears thus clearly stated in a solitary Canterbury manuscript of such importance as this is a question that is difficult to answer, unless it be that this type of initial is a direct result of Dunstan's period of exile abroad. What is certain is that it was established in Saxon art with a by no means inconsiderable emphasis, and we shall find that it had a noticeable influence on other English barbaric initials, so much so that we shall presently speak of a 'Late Bosworth' type.

### 4. HARD STYLE (ZOOMORPHIC SCROLL): AMALARIUS TYPE

The hard style is clearly defined in the second half of the tenth century in a liturgical treatise by Amalarius of Metz, formerly at Exeter and now at Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. B. 11, 2). This manuscript is in an excellent state of preservation and its pages are still white, and the initials are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Bosworth Psalter, f. 64b (D), and Corpus 183, f. 6 (P). The one biped is on f. 74 (Pl. XXX, 3).

drawn in a fine unfaded black line, and the occasional colouring is clear and fresh. There is no prettier set of letters in the whole of English pre-Conquest art, and three are illustrated here (Pl. XXXI, 1-3), the most beautiful being the S, which is striped yellow and red and has animal-heads in bright purple, green, and blue. These initials are all zoomorphic scrolls, and have the same sort of animal-heads as the initials of the Junius 27 type; but the style has changed, not only because the patterns are different and do not include the 'biped' designs, but also because they are now crisply hard in manner and have acquired a springiness and a jewel-like sparkle that is new.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. HARD STYLE (ZOOMORPHIC SCROLL): LATE HARD TYPE

The late form of the Amalarius type is a plainer and more economical design. 'Late Hard' initials are found frequently, and sometimes occur in the *mixed* manuscripts to which we shall presently refer; but there is a small group of eleventh-century texts in which the type predominates decisively. It no longer has pretty colours; but it still has its original elegance (Pl. XXXII, 1, 3).<sup>2</sup>

#### 6. THE MIXED STYLE

There are two important manuscripts that may be grouped together as representative of a pronounced eclectic taste in the matter of these initials. The first is a copy of the Rules of St. Benedict, a Canterbury manuscript in the British Museum (Harley 5431), in which the majority of the letters (e.g. Pl. XXXI, 4) are of the Amalarius type and not far behind the Cambridge series in beauty, though they are without the gay colours and are done in black and red only; but the manuscript also contains numerous examples of the 'soft' biped initials derived from the Junius 27 type. The other 'mixed' manuscript is the Lambeth Palace 'Aldhelm' (MS. 200) which

<sup>1</sup> Similar initials will be found in Trinity, Cambridge, O. 3. 7; British Museum, Harley 110 and Harley 5431.

<sup>2</sup> For examples see Lambeth MS. 204; Bodleian, Digby 146; British Museum, Royal 5. E. XI and Royal 15. B. XIX; Corpus, Cambridge, MS. 326; Salisbury Cathedral, MS. 38.

includes many 'hard' style zoomorphic scrolls and also many that are done in a contrasting 'soft' style (Pl. XXXII, 2; Pl. XXXIII, 2), apparently as a result of the influence of the Bosworth type of initial with its ribbon line and its soft acanthus 'elbows'.

#### 7. SOFT STYLE (ZOOMORPHIC SCROLL): LATE BOSWORTH TYPE

This might be described as the normal initial of the end of the Saxon period, and it is to be found in a larger number of manuscripts than any other type. It represents no new features, and is really nothing more than the 'soft' element in the Lambeth 'Aldhelm' used continuously throughout a book in a homogeneous series of letters that are without any great accent on the structural lines, and at the same time make frequent use of the Bosworth 'elbow' and the Bosworth interlace with foliate details (see Type 3). These Late Bosworth initials are extremely pretty (Pl. XXX, 2) and show extraordinary intricacies of pattern. Any Hiberno-Saxon artist of the age of the Lindisfarne Gospel would have been very proud of these designs that will be found in about a dozen manuscripts. Most of them are in black and red, but they are done in blue and green occasionally, and two texts have fully coloured examples.<sup>1</sup>

The account of these initials has been intentionally made very brief because Francis Wormald has published a much fuller study of them.<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary here to do more than give them recognition in this general survey of the art of the period as a background accompaniment to the main story of English illumination in the tenth and eleventh centuries. They are, of course, the lesser trivialities of the Winchester manuscripts; but they are not unimportant, and we shall find in a later chapter that there is character enough in them to survive the Conquest and to contribute in a minor measure to the legacy of Anglo-Saxon art.

As a postscript we may call attention to two remarkable

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Nero E. I, f. 55*b*; Trinity, Cambridge, O. 2. 31, f. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, XCI (1945), p. 107. Except for the reference to Tanner 10, this chapter was written before Mr. Wormald's study appeared. I have since shortened it, but have left it as originally arranged, as it is addressed in particular to the art-historian.

bronze ornaments that bear decoration allied to that of these fantastic initials we have been studying. They are a pair of circular escutcheons, adapted by the addition of silver loops as pendants, and they were found in 1876 in the grave of a Viking at Saffron Walden in Essex, with a third pendant disc of a simple perforated type, strung on a necklace with a silver filigree bead of Viking manufacture, and a few beads of carnelian, crystal, and glass.<sup>1</sup> The design on the two large escutcheons (Pl. LXXXIII, 2) is at first sight a pattern in the Danish Jellinge style (cf. Pls. LVIII, LIX), something at any rate with a strong Viking accent, but on examination it will be found that the apparent slack and heavy rope-like treatment of the main device—one known on Saxon coins and itself quite at home in England—is strangely modified by a break-up of the double strands into a thin wandering pattern of single lines and by the curious addition of acanthus leaf appendages. Here is a metal-worker's essay in the sort of designs represented by the Saxon initials of the barbaric kind. It is, however, undeniably late work, probably mid-eleventh century—note the use of enclosed pellets—and this adds interest to the extraordinary fact that heavy interlace and acanthus ornament apparently related to that on the Saffron Walden disc occurs in the following century on the sides of the magnificent fonts at Shernborne and Toftrees in Norfolk.<sup>2</sup> As it can be shown that the initials most certainly were still used for the ornamentation of manuscripts after the Conquest (p. 133), there is reason for suspecting a survival of this style of ornament in other forms of art.

<sup>1</sup> *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., II, 284, 311. Cf. *V.C.H. Essex* I, p. 330. Cf. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, 1924, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cambridge Ant. Soc. Proc.*, XXXIX, 1940, p. 83.

## IV

### THE INHABITED SCROLL

WE must refer again, very briefly, to the formal acanthus design that appears early in the tenth century in the court style of Winchester. What I have now in mind is not just the array of leaves in the borders of the grand manuscripts or the incidental use of foliate sprays of acanthus in the Canon Tables and minor initials, but a regularized ornamental theme, the running scroll that is inhabited by birds and beasts. This, in late Saxon art, is a very different thing from the old Northumbrian vine-scroll. I named Corpus 183, the Life of St. Cuthbert, an Athelstan-period manuscript of about 930, as a starting-point in our survey of the English classical painting in the tenth century and also of the Frankish type barbaric initials; and this work is also the first document that shows us the new inhabited scroll (Pl. XXXIII, 1). It appears as a practised and delicately drawn design, but it is nevertheless something that is obviously foreign in kind. Of course, the actual foliage is like that in the splendid curls and festoons of acanthus that we have seen incorporated in the subsequent Winchester illuminations; but we are concerned here with the real inhabited scroll as a systematized panel-ornament, and it is clear that, so used, it has a different spread and rhythm from that of the older Saxon scrolls with their heavy and ostentatious spiral stems. It is frilly, closely packed, and lavishly ornate; and in the Saxon handling its contained birds and animals, without being in any way stylized into barbaric animal-ornament, are usually in a state of agitated activity and posed in most uncomfortably strained attitudes. A characteristic feature is the exaggerated 'gape' of the pecking birds.

Sixty or seventy years later than the Corpus manuscript we find the same scroll drawn for us again in the Lambeth 'Aldhelm' (Pl. XXXIII, 2). Its dominant acanthus character is still very clearly stated, and the contained animals and birds are even more fiercely and preposterously strained; the whole design, indeed, is expressed in a markedly Saxon manner, and the scroll has hardened into a crumpled, chaotic ornament that is

more pattern than plant. Such a translation into completely idiomatic Saxon work can, I think, be accepted as proof of the continued existence of this Frankish pattern in the period intervening between the date of the two manuscripts, and we must therefore inquire to what extent this new scroll influenced other departments of Saxon art. In the preceding centuries the Northumbrian vine-scroll was a universally established period-theme, and this makes it necessary to point out that the new Frankish scroll enjoyed in its day a vogue that is very nearly of the same significance, for it is to be found not only in manuscripts, but also in the sculpture and in the minor ornaments of the time.

A group of carvings in south-western England gives us proof of this. Most of them, such as the sculptures at Chew Stoke, Maperton, and Nunney, are relatively modest fragments of grave-slabs or crosses; but there is one outstanding monument to represent the series, the beautiful cross (Pl. XXXIV), now very admirably restored, in the church at Colyton, Devon, which I venture to attribute to the second half of the tenth century. As restored, it measures just over 7 feet in height. The shaft bears at the base an acanthus spray, and, above this, a full-length panel containing a magnificent scroll, very crumpled and tumbled, but nevertheless crisply cut and lively. In it are to be seen some triangular leaves in the spandrels between the main curves of the spiral stem that are perhaps a legacy from the older ninth-century scroll; but in the main it is a new acanthus pattern, and we see examples of the bell-shaped flower and of the characteristic large terminal leaf from which the scroll appears to grow. The bird and the animal are caught up into the pattern, and are locked into it, and lost in it, as in the Aldhelm scroll, and there is no doubt that the sculptor was fully conversant with the English taste for an ornamental effect that should pleasantly obscure the plain statement of the principal theme.

There is another important carving in the group that stands apart from the rest and deserves separate mention, namely the tympanum (Pl. XXXV) of Knook church in Wiltshire. A very convincing comparison between the design here and that of the Aldhelm scroll has been made by Sir Alfred Clapham,<sup>1</sup> and I

<sup>1</sup> *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, Oxford, 1930. p. 137, Fig. 44.

think we may assume that the tympanum and the manuscript are both works of about A.D. 1000. The carving is in very low relief and has much more the flat look of a line-drawing than the stouter sculpture at Colyton; for there is no attempt to give substance to the bodies of the beasts, and the scroll itself is a dead ribbon-like pattern; but it is unquestionably an acanthus-scroll of the type we are studying. The whole design is very thoroughly English in its crowded, unclear statement of the design, and in the graceful easy way in which the two animals, one a biped and the other a lion with a curly mane, are dissolved into the convolutions of the scroll.

A number of minor antiquities help to prove the popularity of this pattern as a stock theme in the Late Saxon period. One of them, a dainty and most delightful thing, is the ivory pen-case (Pl. XXXVI, 1) from London, now in the British Museum. The lid of this bears an elegant acanthus-scroll, symmetrically composed on each side of a central stem. This scroll is inhabited by birds only, but they give a very clearly defined English character to the piece, for they show the agonized straining postures and gaping beaks of the Anglo-Saxon style. Small sections of scrolls such as this were commonly used in the eleventh century for the decoration of inconsiderable trifles of even lesser size, and as an example there is a bronze censer-top (Pl. XXXVI, 2) from Canterbury in the British Museum and a charming little gilt-bronze cruet (Pl. XXXVI, 3), also in the British Museum. The fact that both these small bronzes are ornamented with what may be described as details of the established acanthus-scroll of the day is so obvious that there is no need to describe them at great length; but we must at least call attention to their characteristically lumpy, close-set and unrestful system of ornament. In 1938 I published a short article on this cruet in which it was suggested that it comes from south-eastern England, and to support this view reference was made to a small group of related Anglo-Saxon antiquities, the strap-ends from London and East Anglia that bear versions of the same decorative theme, that is to say pairs of birds in a symmetrical acanthus-scroll.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, XVIII (1938), Pl. LXXIV, p. 380. Note also a sword-pommel figured there that shows the survival of the same theme in the twelfth century.

## V

### SCULPTURE: WEST SAXON FIGURE-CARVINGS

LATE Saxon figure-sculpture in southern England is rare, and I am here diminishing the possible number of carvings by preferring a twelfth-century date for some of the finest of the works that are commonly called Saxon; but even if everything attributed to Saxon sculptors were included, there would still be only about sixteen places where the carvings are to be found. The surviving works, therefore, do not suggest that there were schools of Romanesque sculpture in the south with an output equal to that of the Northumbrian schools of the tenth and eleventh centuries that have left us such a large number of figured stone crosses; but the southern sculptures were the decorations of churches, not crosses standing in the open, and their chance of survival was small, and we may begin by inferring that there were originally many more than we have now.

The Continent, however, set us no arresting example in this matter of figure-sculpture on the walls of churches in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Southern England was dependent on its inherited knowledge of how to carve stone, rather than on instruction from abroad, and in all probability took its new subjects either from frescoes and mosaics in the great abbeys of the Continent, or from portable and minor works of art such as manuscripts and ivories. This is why the carvings that we are all willing to call Saxon, even though their iconography is foreign (e.g. Pl. XL, 3), are executed in a traditional low-relief and almost linear style that we recognize as connected with the sculpture of our innumerable crosses.

As proof that there were undoubtedly large and ambitious figure-carvings in the Saxon churches of Wessex, we have the two great angels, each about 5 feet in length, in the little Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon, for they are the surviving members of what must have been an impressive tenth-century figural composition, probably a Rood. They are important to us here because they show not only the size that the Saxon work attained, but also what was probably the principal native style.

We may call these angels and the allied sculptures the 'Winchester' carvings. They are dependent upon the ancient Saxon sculptural tradition, and they are really the equivalent in stone of the Winchester art that we have been studying in the manuscripts. In fact, they are really drawings done in stone, for they have very little plastic feel, and the figures are not much more than silhouetted shapes enlivened with simple engraving.

The examples known beside the Bradford-on-Avon angels are the Bristol Cathedral Harrowing of Hell, the Inglesham Virgin and Child, the Ascension panel at South Cerney,<sup>1</sup> the Winterborne Steepleton angel,<sup>2</sup> the Stinsford angel, the Romsey Crucifixion panel, possibly the Stepney Crucifixion panel, and a small number of minor fragments like the Entry into Jerusalem at Eccleshall, Staffordshire. Possibly the series could be extended, but it is sufficient for us here just to see what the style is like, and I will describe only the Bristol and Inglesham sculptures. The date of both is presumably in the first half of the eleventh century.

The Bristol panel (Pl. XXXVII, 1) is 7 feet in height and is carved in a relief 3-4 inches in depth. The figure of Christ, whose staff, through an accident of photography, looks rather like St. Peter's key, is a composition in one plane and has the details of limbs and draperies coarsely graven on the surface. There is no delicate modelling, and no three-dimensional graces; yet the effect achieved by this rough heavy chiselling is not only one of an arresting power, but also one of a most tender lightness. Nothing could better illustrate the buoyancy of the truly Saxon figure-work in stone (p. 143); for in spite of certain crudities of execution the Bristol figure gives us the impression of being only lightly poised above the mouth of Hell, and is visibly an inhabitant of the high heavens to which He will presently ascend.

The carving of the Virgin and Child (Pl. XXXVII, 2) at Inglesham in Wiltshire, is a panel 3 feet high done in a relief of only 1-2 inches in depth, and it is now rather badly weathered. There is no surviving graciousness in such drapery folds as can

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, XV (1935), Pl. XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> This I believed to be rather earlier and related to Hiberno-Saxon sculpture; but the clear-cut chin and protruding eyes now suggest to me Norman influence, a confession that shows how little I really know about this kind of carving. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. CIII, 3.

still be distinguished, for instance close to the left foot of the Child, and details like the foot of the Virgin or the huge sprawling hand of the Child lying across the Virgin's breast could have possessed little more than the simple charm of a rustic emphasis; but there can be no doubt that the two figures together form a most moving composition in which the Saxon 'anguished stoop', already known to us in the Crucifixion of Harley 2904 (Pl. VIII) and the Trinity of Harley 603 (Pl. XIV), is accentuated and supported by the noble sloping line formed by the two heads and the Child's arm. In short, this poor battered carving preserves with full intensity the dramatic personal tenderness with which a Saxon artist could invest such a subject, and, though the panel was never perhaps a great sculpture, yet both in outline and the pattern-value of its parts, it is significant as a truthful translation into stone of the essential virtues of the finest English drawings of the age.

This Winchester influence is better illustrated in the minor arts for, though we now know nothing about the jewelled images of the Virgin made for Ely by Abbot Brithnot (d. 981), we do still have some Saxon ivories and minor antiquities in metal. It is easier to carve a little piece of ivory than a block of stone, and the tiny triangular panel, only 3 inches in height, bearing the figures of two censing angels (Pl. XXXVIII, 3), found in Winchester itself and now in the Winchester Museum, is an admirable instance of the translation of the manuscript style into sculpture, if we can use the word of such a modest fragment. The use of ivory made it simpler to work in the round, and this panel of c. 1000 has much more plastic substance and rotundity than the stone-carvings; but this is not its principal virtue, for the dominant beauty of this enchanting piece is to be found in the gracious floating lightness of the two angels whose posture and action are those of spiritual beings dancing in the air with the effortless hovering of the angels of the New Minster Charter (Pl. II). The sculptor working in stone did not approach this sensitive accuracy in reproducing the full excellence of the manuscript art; but the existence of the ivory is perhaps a proof of the Saxon intention to translate the Winchester manuscript style into another medium. It is not the only ivory carving of its kind. The lovely figure of Christ (Pl. XXXVIII, 1) on the German reliquary cross of gold and enamel in the Victoria and Albert Museum has been rightly

identified by Dr. Goldschmidt and Mr. H. P. Mitchell as Saxon work in the Winchester manner;<sup>1</sup> it gives us a remarkable rendering of the gentle dignity of the tenth-century Crucifixion figures of the British Museum Psalter Harley 2904 (Pl. VIII) and of the Sherborne Pontifical in Paris (Bib. Nat., Lat. 943), this last manuscript, unlike Harley 2904, providing a particularly close parallel in the matter of the drapery.

The quieter style in Saxon ivories is represented by such works as the Alcester Tau-Cross and the Godwin seal, both in the British Museum. The seal, cut on one side of its disc for Godwin, the Minister, and on the other, at a later date, for Godgytha the Nun, was found near the market-place at Walingford in Berkshire; it has a pear-shaped projecting handle (Pl. XXXVIII, 2), and on this is carved the personages of the Trinity, the Dove having been broken away. The seated figures of the Father and the Son rest their feet on a third figure lying prostrate beneath them (Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool<sup>2</sup>), and this person, to suit the form of the handle, is turning his head and looking up at the spectator as though playing his part with a most inappropriate perkiness. The two principal figures have a weightless graceful ease, but they have nevertheless more sculpturesque solemnity than the Winchester angels. There is, in fact, considerable diversity in this English sculpture-in-miniature, some examples coming very near to the Winchester manner and others showing more apparent foreign inspiration; but, keeping to the Winchester kind, I shall mention only one more, the beautiful crosier-head (Pl. XXXIX) of *c.* 1050 in the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>3</sup> that was recognized as Saxon work in 1923 by Mr. H. P. Mitchell who has described it fully in an important series of articles called 'Flotsam of Later Saxon Art'.<sup>4</sup> Nothing could better support Mr. Mitchell's claim that the Saxon artist was a man of very remarkable powers than this crosier-head, for it summarizes all that we have found most beautiful in our studies. The many figures upon it, acting the drama of Christ's birth and Passion, are delicately light and at the same time

<sup>1</sup> M. H. Longhurst, *English Ivories*. London, 1926. pp. 9, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cix, 1.

<sup>3</sup> M. H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 80; Pls. 2, 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Burlington Magazine*, XLII (1923), pp. 63, 162, 303; XLIII (1923), p. 104.

movingly powerful in characterization and action; a detail such as the flock of sheep in the Star of Bethlehem scene at the base of the crook has the vividness and natural vigour of the very liveliest sketch in the Utrecht Psalter; the yearning figures of the Virgin and St. John that reach out their arms towards the dead Christ possess the mute urgent anguish of the most solemn Saxon drawings; yet beautiful in detail though all this is, the ornament of figures is somewhat lumpily disordered, with the appearance of having been spilled upon the crook rather than carefully ordered as its strictly regimented accessory, thus giving a provincial ruggedness and surface-confusion to the work (cf. p. 140).

Returning to the larger sculptures in stone, we come now to a group of Roods consisting of a central Crucifix between the figures of the Virgin and St. John. The two largest, at Headbourne Worthy and Breamore, both in Hampshire, are today represented only by battered scars showing where the figures had once been. They were important life-size groups, and were an integral part of the outside wall of a Saxon church, at the west end at Headbourne Worthy and above the south door at Breamore. This fact in itself gives us some encouragement in believing that the carvings are themselves Saxon, for Norman roods of such stature are not likely to have been set up in Saxon masonry and would have been more probably part of a new Norman church.

There is little that can be usefully said about the style of the Headbourne Worthy Rood. The arms stretch out almost horizontally and are only very slightly bent, and the head must have been sunk forward upon the breast, so the Crucifix may have been an accustomed Winchester type (cf. Pls. VIII, XII). The Breamore Rood (Pl. XL, 1), on the other hand, is still iconographically distinctive, and its most arresting feature is the remarkable treatment of the arms of the Christ, for though they have at first the appearance of being strangely bent at the elbows, really, I think, they stretch upwards and outwards, and have hands that droop at the wrist. Such drooping hands are found in Italian art of the ninth century <sup>1</sup> and in German art of the tenth and eleventh centuries, <sup>2</sup> and the exaggerated English

<sup>1</sup> A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, 23, 172; IV, 308. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II, Pls. 3, 6, 84, 96.

treatment of this detail, with its resultant anguished effect, is another manifestation of that revelation of the agony of Christ that we have seen in the British Museum Psalter Arundel 60 (Pl. XXI); the Breamore Rood is thus, according to the views expressed here, evidence of an appreciable change of style in the middle of the eleventh century (p. 19) and is therefore not likely to be a work much earlier than the Conquest.

The tradition established by the Saxon Rood was not brought to an end by the Conquest, as is proved by the relatively well-preserved twelfth-century example at Barking in Essex.<sup>1</sup> An example that cannot at present be classified with any certainty as either Saxon or Norman is the Rood over the porch of the church at Langford in Oxfordshire.<sup>2</sup> This is a smaller work than the carvings at Headbourne Worthy or Breamore, but it is iconographically of the Breamore type, though it is now wrongly restored<sup>3</sup> and is not easy to study owing to its height above the ground. Here the attendant figures of the Virgin and St. John have what looks like a twelfth-century solidity and weight, rather like some of the figures on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, and the drapery details seem to confirm the impression that the whole group is post-Conquest work.

A similar hesitation is unavoidable in dating the Crucifixion panel, 3 feet high, in St. Dunstan's, Stepney (Pl. XL, 2). Here, however, the substantial dignity of the Langford supporters has vanished, and the carving is a flat one with what is clearly a Saxon look and an obvious, though possibly superficial, resemblance to the Winchester carvings; moreover, in the detail of the feet of St. John that overstep the frame we have a link with Saxon drawing (p. 6). Yet this detail is not decisive, and in his careful study of the Stepney panel,<sup>4</sup> Mr. O. M. Dalton, rightly emphasizing the difficulty of dating such pieces, was not able to feel sure that the carving was pre-Conquest. Indeed,

<sup>1</sup> Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Fig. 115. The date given here for the Rood is *c.* 1000, but see my remarks, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*. Oxford, 1930. Pl. 52.

<sup>3</sup> The figures of the Virgin and St. John are on the wrong sides of the figure of Christ, and Our Lord's head should rest against the crossing, and the two arms should be reaching upwards, the hands drooping at the wrists (i.e. the arms of the cross have been replaced on the wrong sides of the cross and upside down).

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, XXII (1908), p. 225.

those who believe that the Chichester panels, which we shall presently mention, belong to the twelfth century might use the similarity between the Chichester and Stepney acanthus borders as an argument in favour of a late date for Stepney too.

With the Stepney slab we must include as an even more likely Saxon work, the small Crucifixion panel (Pl. XL, 3) in Romsey Abbey, the height of which is about 2 feet 6 inches. There is less doubt about the date of this, for the close iconographical correspondence between the Romsey panel and the beautiful Byzantine ivory triptych in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, a tenth-century work,<sup>1</sup> makes it probable that the Romsey carving is, indeed, Saxon. The composition shows, as in the Byzantine exemplar, a very tall cross with cherubim above the arms, the Virgin and St. John in the middle portion of the panel underneath the arms, and, below these figures, Longinus and Stephaton reaching upwards to the body, one with the spear and the other with the sponge at the end of a long rod. The waving details of the acanthus growing out of the cross and at its foot, the violently energetic postures of Longinus and Stephaton, and the grace and movement of the total composition remind us of Winchester illumination in its eleventh-century phase after the introduction of the 'athletic' figure (p. 20) and suggest yet another reference to what we may term 'Hildesheim' art. In fact, in this instance a direct allusion to the 'Garden' panels of the bronze doors of the Cathedral (c. 1015) is not inapposite as a distant source of the style here represented at Romsey.

There are other well-known carvings at Romsey, Daglingworth, Langford, and Chichester that are sometimes described as Saxon. It is useless, without a large number of illustrations, to attempt to prove that they are not, and in the end the word must lie with our students of English twelfth-century sculpture; but it is not right to pass them by without mention merely because I am at present persuaded to regard them as post-Conquest works. An important preliminary point is, of course, that they are, admittedly, not Winchester sculptures. They are Byzantine—if I may use the term in a vague general sense—by reason of their qualities of substantial stateliness and cold, heavy grandeur; and the principal question about them is,

<sup>1</sup> A. Goldschmidt, *Byz. Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, 72a.

does the new Continental or Byzantine manner that they represent really manifest itself here in sculpture before the Conquest, or is it an innovation of the late eleventh or the twelfth century? The answer is important, but not of fundamental significance here. Thus the York Madonna,<sup>1</sup> to name the most famous of these problem-pieces, has in style nothing to do with the known corpus of Saxon sculpture, and if, as has been strongly argued, it were carved in England in Saxon times, it would come before us only as something markedly exceptional and unexpectedly precocious. We may be permitted, therefore, to deal only briefly with the southern enigmas of the same order.

To take our first example. The inescapable problem about the Romsey Rood<sup>2</sup> is, has it a period-style? It is a nearly life-size Crucifix, 6 feet in height, the body of Our Lord being in a relief  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep, and the figure and the upright of the cross are carved in one piece of stone. This figure, which has a strangely flat-topped head, as though it had formerly been crowned,<sup>3</sup> is completely different from the Winchester carvings of the Bristol type by reason of its corporal substance and gentle monumental calm. The body, which has more modelling than is apparent in the published photographs<sup>4</sup> is squarely and impassively frontal; the arms are stretched out stiff and straight, not supporting the body, but symbolizing its lifeless grandeur; the face is mask-like and the hair arranged in a stiff roll along the shoulders in the fashion of the Moissac crowned Christ Majesty; and the great Manus Dei with its heavy vertical emphasis is a strengthening of the carving's power. All this is foreign to Saxon art. Yet the carving follows an English tradition in the type of the loin-cloth with its central triangular fold hanging over the waist-line; for this is the fashion of the tenth-century Crucifixion in Harley 2904 (Pl. VIII), of the eleventh-century Crucifixion on folio 12b of the Arundel 60 (Pl. XXI, 1), of the Worcester Crucifixion of c. 1130 (Pl. XCV, 2), and of the Descent from the Cross in the early twelfth-

<sup>1</sup> E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Cambridge, 1912. Fig. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Prior and Gardner, loc. cit., Fig. 113.

<sup>3</sup> A hole that might be for the fastening of a crown can still be seen on the left side of the head.

<sup>4</sup> Note especially the forward-sunken and rounded stomach.

century Albani Psalter (p. 135).<sup>1</sup> In this succession of manuscripts we see a progressive hardening of the drapery-style, and the loin-cloth on the Romsey Rood most plainly belongs to what may be called the Albani stage. It has entirely lost the billowing lightness proper to the work of a sculptor acquainted with the Winchester manner; the folds hang heavily and cling close to the figure so that the thighs show clearly, not as a kind of highlight detail such as we see in Winchester drawing, but as if the cloth were sodden with damp. This is a period-mannerism,<sup>2</sup> and the loin-cloth of the figure on the Romsey Rood should be compared, for instance, with the panels on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, particularly that showing Noah cultivating the vine, and also with drapery in other twelfth-century manuscripts, for example the loin-cloth of the Flagellation (f. 22 v.) in the Albani Psalter.

The Byzantine taste in a colder mood is illustrated by the three carvings found facing inwards in the Norman chancel arch of Daglingworth church, Gloucestershire.<sup>3</sup> They are panels of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to just under 3 feet in height. The figures are strong, simple, and hard-edged, and they are stiff and curiously proportioned, like rather awkward dolls. The heads have wigs with a central parting, not much forehead showing, and big expressionless eyes; the head of Christ in the Crucifixion panel has a sharply demarcated beard, long moustaches with curled ends, and two thin tresses descending on to the shoulders. The St. Peter wears a full-length tunic of Syrian type, and the Christ is also fully draped; but the sculptor has got things wrong in this figure, for he has treated the bottom of the tunic as though it were a loin-cloth, so that the navel of the naked body of Our Lord is shown above it. This, of course, gives us the impression of a native and rustic style; but it is nevertheless certain that the Daglingworth carvings are neither inexpert nor crude. The head of Christ proves this. It represents the familiar head-form that had already been adopted and exploited by our Saxon artists (Pls. VIII, XII, XXI); but the original model has been profoundly altered by the most accomplished and clearly expressed schematization. There is obviously practice and familiar

<sup>1</sup> For a Continental approximation to the type, see the Werden Crucifix, 1075-1100 (E. Panofsky, *Deutsche Plastik*. Munich, 1924. Pl. 11).

<sup>2</sup> See Professor W. Koehler on the 'damp fold' style. *Dumbarton Oaks Inaugural Lectures*. Harvard, 1941. pp. 63 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Prior and Gardner, loc. cit., Fig. 119.

purpose behind this clear-cut and very beautiful result; yet I know no reason for thinking that this peculiarly mannered head is a Saxon stylization. On the contrary, it is a rendering that has the later and distinctive clarity of the grotesque mask on a Norman corbel or of the faces of the Lewes chessmen in the British Museum, and it is one that corresponds to an equivalent schematic hardening in twelfth-century Continental sculpture. In fact, the evidence abroad suggests that the Daglingworth carvings are twelfth-century works of a west Mediterranean, and probably Spanish, origin, for I believe the earliest foreign carvings explaining the genesis of the head of the Daglingworth Christ are Spanish ivories, for example the Crucifix of c. 1063 in Madrid,<sup>1</sup> where we even find the curly ended moustache, and works like the Leon casket of 1059;<sup>2</sup> but I mention these merely as pointers indicating a source, and the more important confirmation of the Mediterranean origin of the Daglingworth style is to be found in the twelfth-century sculptures of the Occupations of the Months on the portal of Santa Maria, Ripoli, in the north-east of Spain, where we find close counterparts of the Daglingworth soldiers of the Crucifixion panel, complete with original forms of their easily recognizable and, for England, most unusual garments.<sup>3</sup>

The Langford draped Rood<sup>4</sup> and the Chichester panels<sup>5</sup> have also, I think, nothing to do with the subject of this book. The Rood has the upper part made of three sections, the top of the cross and the head and neck being made in one piece and resting on the two arm-units that join beneath the chin in a vertical line through the centre of the breast. This is the way in which the draped figure of the crucified St. Peter at Aulnay<sup>6</sup> is constructed, and, in spite of the fact that St. Peter's robe has narrow drapery rolls in the southern French manner, there is no good reason for supposing that the Oxfordshire carving is appreciably older than its mid-twelfth-century counterpart in Aquitaine. The Langford Rood, moreover, has the additional interest of being considered by some students an expression of

<sup>1</sup> A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, IV, 100; cf. 91, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, 81; cf. 110 for the head facing straight to front.

<sup>3</sup> Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*. Boston, 1923. V, 580. For the costume cf. also VII, 917.

<sup>4</sup> Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, Fig. 112.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, Figs. 120-3.

<sup>6</sup> Porter, *op. cit.*, VII, 983.

the cult of the Volto Santo at Lucca, just like the analogous twelfth-century draped Crucifix in Brunswick Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> The present Volto Santo does not look like the prototype of the Langford Rood, and may even be later in date; but there was an earlier figure at Lucca believed to be of the same draped type, and an eleventh-century copy of it was brought to England by Leofstan of Bury St. Edmunds shortly before the Conquest. It seems, therefore, unlikely that a large and impressive draped Rood, carved in stone in an English church of no unusual importance, would be earlier in date than the arrival in England of a portable copy of the Volto Santo, an event significant enough to be chronicled. Therefore it seems right to attribute the Langford Rood to the reigns of the Norman kings, and we know indeed that to swear by the cross of Lucca was a favourite oath of William Rufus.

The two Chichester panels, each measuring about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet square and each built up of a number of separately carved blocks of Caen stone, represent the Raising of Lazarus and the visit of Christ to the house of the Maries. Though Dr. Saxl suggested they are the work of two different sculptors, both of them are carved in the same mannered style that is not found elsewhere in England, except for a tiny piece of a like carving at Toller Fratrum in Dorset. This style is distinguished from anything we are at present agreed to call Saxon by the remarkably 'heavy' treatment of the figures which is revealed in the slack leaden look of the principal personages, and in the ponderous draperies that hang like sodden quilts. Another new feature is the character of the hair and faces, a collection of wigs and tragic masks with drilled eyes<sup>2</sup> that give the actors, particularly in the Lazarus scene, a terrifyingly anguished gloom. In the other panel this sorrowful gaze is not quite so poignantly expressed; but in the Lazarus carving it is as though the impassive countenance of the Daglingworth Christ were suddenly animated by a violent grimace conveying the most urgent emotion. Another point is that the Christ at the Maries' house is a figure of towering size, but very thin and with long sloping shoulders.

It might be argued that the outstandingly peculiar mannerisms

<sup>1</sup> E. Panofsky, *Deutsche Plastik*. Munich, 1924. Pl. 25, A.

<sup>2</sup> On this subject see Sir Eric Maclagan's remarks, *Antiquaries Journal*, IV (1924), p. 211.

of these remarkable panels are English, but the Chichester style in general takes its origin in German works like the Hildesheim candlesticks (*c.* 1015), and a comparison between the detail of the kneeling Maries at Chichester and the kneeling figures of women on the candlesticks<sup>1</sup> shows how really close in this matter the bond between England and Germany is; if, however, we keep, as we must, to the province of sculpture in stone the valid comparison, as Sir Eric Maclagan has observed to me, is between the Chichester carvings and the group of carvings at Gernrode at the foot of the Harz Mountains, the date of which is about 1100.<sup>2</sup> Further, the thin bottle-shouldered figure of Christ is not a Winchester form but an Albani Psalter form (p. 135) and is not found in Continental sculpture before the end of the eleventh century; and the dramatic 'tableau vivant' style, with the drilled chorus gazing in 'group' directions, is not earlier than the Santo Domingo de Silos reliefs in Spain,<sup>3</sup> and is in the main connected with the Vezelay and derivative schools in France, particularly as exemplified in the twelfth-century capitals of St. Nectaire, Puy-de-Dôme,<sup>4</sup> where we find not only the ribbed and beaded wigs of Chichester, but something not far removed from the Chichester type of garments.<sup>5</sup> It is, indeed, the heavy drapery with its sodden folds and ponderous edges at the level of the ankles that seems to exclude the Chichester panels from the company of Saxon sculptures, and here we may suggest, firstly, a comparison, already made by other writers on this subject, between the Chichester drapery and the drapery of the Rood at Barking in Essex (note especially the weight of the robe over the left hand of the Apostle behind Christ at the house of the Maries, and the similar detail in the Barking St. John), and, secondly, a further reference from both these English carvings to the Virgin at Gernrode, where this same weight of quilt-like

<sup>1</sup> E. Panofsky, *Deutsche Plastik*. Munich, 1924. Pl. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Panofsky, *op. cit.*, Pls. 19b, 18, 20a.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, *op. cit.*, VI, 671. The dating is disputed, but the carvings can hardly be earlier than *c.* 1085; cf. W. M. Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture*. Oxford, 1941. pp. 161 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VIII, 1201.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 1204 (the figure of Christ carrying the cross). For the sleeves and wrists of the two Maries cf. Porter, *op. cit.*, X, 1416: but this is a style at least as old as Bernward's doors and candlesticks at Hildesheim (1015-22).

material, this same dragging at the ankles, will warn us that the Chichester and Barking style is likely to belong to the first half of the twelfth century. The gown of St. John in the Worcester Crucifixion of *c.* 1130 (Pl. XCV, 2) gives an idea of this drapery style as seen in an illuminated manuscript.

The manifold imperfections of this chapter will not escape even the most indulgent reader, but no words need be wasted in apology for leaving it in its present sorry state of uncertainty. Obviously we need, as Mr. O. M. Dalton pointed out in 1908, a collection of casts of all the English sculptures concerned, so that they can be studied conveniently all in one place and close to a properly equipped library of art-books and photographs. Moreover, a much fuller knowledge of the Continental development of the Byzantine and Frankish styles is needed before we can write with confidence about the origin of the style of any southern carving other than those in the Winchester group, and at present there must be caution in the interpretation of such isolated comparisons as are made here between our carvings and particular sculptures and ivories abroad, for the validity of such comparisons must in a large measure depend on the mapping of the probable streams of influence, a task that has not yet been successfully performed.

## VI

### SCULPTURE: NORTHUMBRIAN STYLES

COMING to the subject of Northumbrian sculpture immediately after a survey of south English art, a first impression will be that the northern work is a vast and dreary assemblage of carvings that are either of indifferent quality or downright bad. We may, indeed, expect the crosses concerned to be thus inferior. The Golden Age of the Northumbrian Church was over; the Danes had invaded and occupied the land; monasteries had been plundered and burnt, and the monks had often been fugitives; there had been political disorders and increasing confusion in the temporal and spiritual government; moreover, the Danes proved themselves unsuccessful as rulers, and only an uneasy supremacy of the West Saxon kings supported what was left of the great ecclesiastical organization created by Wilfred, Bede, and Alcuin. In such unhappy circumstances it is unlikely that the high standards of northern Carolingian sculpture, as seen at Easby, Rothbury, and Aldborough,<sup>1</sup> could be maintained. Any later Northumbrian carving, if compared with these ninth-century works, might be expected to, and in fact often does, suggest a painful decline in the art of the sculptor.

But this view is just a hasty generalization, and the story is not merely one of a miserable falling off in skill and design. First of all, a very important consideration is the astonishing abundance of the sculptures that the northern Church did contrive to produce in spite of the shock caused by the invasion and settlement of the pagan Northmen. The great quantity of the surviving material, itself testimony to the much greater original number of sculptures, does represent a very wonderful endeavour to preserve the dignity of the English Church. We must bear in mind the ferocious attacks of the Vikings upon the religious houses; we must recall the many tales of burnings and plunderings, and then remember that these numerous crosses are Christian monuments. I think that we are not really able to measure the dynamic vigour of Northumbrian Christianity

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pls. LXII-LXIV, LXXXVIII.

in the Golden Age until we have learnt that the tragedy of the Viking Conquest was unable to daunt her adherents or shatter her corporate strength. All over the northern counties the religious houses, recovering from shock after shock, persisted in their labours, and again and again the preaching cross rose as a challenge to the invaders, and the Christian memorials witnessed to the lives given in defence of the Church. These poor carvings are no less moving and significant than any of the other monuments set up in this world to the courage of the Christian heart; and we may see in them, not only the brave tokens of a sturdy resistance, but, more than that, of the veritable triumph of the northern Christians in the face of adversity. For long before the southern English completed the re-winning of the Danelaw, the Northumbrians themselves had made their faith secure. At the close of the ninth century, within fifty years of the capture of York by the Danes, an archbishop had returned to the capital; and the sorely afflicted Lindisfarne diocese was being reorganized from Chester-le-Street. It was Paganism that was vanquished, not Christianity; and when the invaders intermarried and settled down among the Northumbrians, an unshaken Church was waiting to receive them into the Christian community. Indeed, the late crosses of northern England represent a victory of Christendom no less important than that achieved by southern Christianity in the days of the conquest by Svein and Cnut; and by the nature of these monuments and the history of their ornament we are reminded of the spirit that made the victory possible, that is to say, the inextinguishable missionary zest of the early ecclesiastics of Northumbria. It was to do battle with the pagans that Aidan had come from Iona to Lindisfarne, and it was in conflict with this ancient proselytizing tradition of the Northumbrian Church, the Church that had sent forth men like Wilfred and Willibrord, that the worship of Thor and Odin lost its hold upon the Northmen settled in England.

In the matter of the quality and aesthetic interest of the carvings there are no such persuasive arguments in favour of a more sympathetic view. I can declare my belief that the later northern crosses do include a number of really beautiful carvings; but there is little chance of anyone agreeing with me if they are looked at in the wrong way. We have got to forget the standards and ideals of our southern Winchester art; for

we are now on the dark barbaric side of the Danelaw boundary in a world that for at least half a century had been lost to the civilization of Western Christendom. Instead of judging these carvings by the seventh-century Ruthwell or the ninth-century Easby standards, we must accept them on their own merits and be prepared to recognize the freshness and quasi-Celtic charm of an emerging native and barbaric style. We have to remember that northern England loved with a deep-seated and almost ineradicable aesthetic instinct the barbaric Hiberno-Saxon tradition in art, and when in the loneliness of the Viking Age Northumbria was left to fashion an art for herself, her sculptors at once freed themselves from the restraint imposed by what had always been a foreign classical discipline.

#### PANELLED CROSSES

The first point to establish is the amazing potency of the original Northumbrian tradition. The dominating type of cross in the Golden Age of the northern Church, one that was established by the Bewcastle monument in the late seventh century, has the principal faces of the shaft divided into panels containing figure-subjects, scrolls, and interlace, and on at least one of the sides a full-length run of the vine-scroll. This system of ornament survives to the end of the Saxon period, and its final form is illustrated (Pl. XLI, 1) by the tall and handsome shaft<sup>1</sup> in the parish church at Leeds, in those days a border town between the Danelaw and the Cumbrian region. It can scarcely be dated earlier than about 1050; yet we see that an immediately recognizable conservatism has retained the then antique Anglian vine-scroll as a full-length decorative motive on one of the sides, while on the faces and the second side there is an arrangement of panels containing figures and interlaces and scrolls that is entirely in accord with the original Bewcastle tradition. Of course there are great changes in treatment. The flattened figures are completely barbaric; they are no longer gently humane and easily recognizable declarations of the Christian faith, but stylized incomprehensibles into whose company pagan personages may without incongruity force their way.<sup>2</sup> The vine-scroll, too, is noticeably coarsened. There

<sup>1</sup> The head now mounted on the shaft may not be the original one.

<sup>2</sup> Wayland the Smith and, more doubtfully, Sigurd. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, VI, Part 2, p. 233 (Pls. LXXIX, LXXX); W. G.

is now a ponderous emphasis on the creeping sinuous line of the stem, and the Bewcastle liveliness and prettiness have been lost in a laboured statement of the theme; similarly, the interlace is heavier and clumsier and it includes the ugly horizontal twist<sup>1</sup> that is to be found on other crosses of the same period. There is also a tangled Ringerike-type design with long loose ends terminating in little volutes that reflects the Viking taste (p. 107).

The Leeds cross represents a survival of the panelled system in a form that is obviously descended from the original and traditional ornament of the Anglian cross-shaft, and as such it is of course a rarity. Most of the late 'panelled crosses' seem to be derived from more mature editions of the panelled shaft, for instance the Carolingian versions at Otley and Aldborough and Ilkley,<sup>2</sup> and we can recognize a 'Late Figured' type of the panelled cross that is connected with the ninth-century 'Apostles' cross at Collingham<sup>3</sup> and the Heysham and Hoddam 'doll's house' style.<sup>4</sup> Examples of the Late Figured crosses are to be seen at Bilton<sup>5</sup> and Kirkby Wharfe<sup>6</sup> in the West Riding, at Alnwick Castle (a shaft from Alnmouth),<sup>7</sup> and at Burton-in-Kendal, Westmorland,<sup>8</sup> though in this last instance the decorative scheme is in its final stage of disintegration.<sup>9</sup> Here, however, as a typical example of the Late Figured panelled cross of the early eleventh century I select the churchyard cross at Halton in Lancashire (Pl. XLII). In one panel (1) there is a figure-of-eight scroll in the Bewcastle tradition; but the ornamental system of the cross depends principally on the ninth-century style, though the prettiness and elegance of Saxon Carolingian sculpture have departed, and we are left with a flat surface-decoration that has converted the Christian figure-subjects into decorative travesties of their original forms (3). In fact, the sculptor is at his best when he relapses into a savage free-style rendering such as we have in the Sigurd passages (2).

Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, London, 1927. p. 163. The Sigurd identification is not accepted by Miss Hilda R. Ellis in her paper 'Sigurd in the Art of the Viking Age', *Antiquity*, XVI (1942), p. 232.

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood, op. cit., Fig. 193, right.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Figs. 52, 32, 61-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 87.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Figs. 88, 89.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 149.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 107.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 79.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 195.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Giant's Grave, Penrith: *ib.*, Fig. 162.

There can be little doubt about the significance of the two panels to which I am now referring. Their subject is purely pagan: we see Sigurd forging his sword, and, above him,

under the arch which with its piers encloses the scene, we can discern the finished sword, and a set of spare tools, and the bodies of his treacherous associates, Fafni the dragon . . . and . . . Regni the Smith. Two further scenes of the story are figured in two smaller panels above. The lower shows Sigurd toasting the dragon's heart . . . and when his fingers were scorched . . . putting them to his mouth to ease the smart. The taste of the monster's flesh and blood had the magical effect of giving him understanding of the voices of the birds,<sup>1</sup>

which are to be seen on the scroll in the upper panel.

No one has satisfactorily explained why it is that some of these Northumbrian crosses bear both Christian and pagan subjects. We cannot pretend that the juxtaposition of the Virgin and Child and Egil the Archer on the Franks Casket <sup>2</sup> of about A.D. 700 helps us here; for Christianity was a new faith in those days, and in any case a small box is not a significant object like a churchyard cross. In the tenth and eleventh centuries these crosses were not merely the legacy of an ancient faith but were themselves the visible symbol of it, and yet we find that at Leeds, Halton, and Gosforth (p. 68) Christians took no offence at the appearance of pagan figure-scenes on inspiring and elaborately carved Christian monuments. One explanation would be that the incorporation of scenes from pagan mythology was done deliberately either as an outright compromise with paganism or as a conciliatory hint to the heathen that their myths could be given a Christian significance. But this seems to me to suggest a weakness that the Church Militant of this heroic age would have repudiated; for the appeasement of the heathen was a policy that the pugnacious ecclesiastics of the Dark Ages never even considered. The crosses are witnesses to indomitable Christian courage and are themselves a proof to the contrary. A more plausible reason than that of weakness would be that of Christian indifference to the subject-matter upon them. By this I mean that the distinction between representations of Christian and pagan stories was by this time blurred, because the figure-subject itself had degenerated into

<sup>1</sup> I am here quoting Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 232. Cf. also Hilda R. Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 224.

<sup>2</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

a purely ornamental composition without serious doctrinal significance. It was not so much a scene or an episode in a story as an intriguing pattern. In other words, the cross had lost its ancient function as a comprehensible advertisement of the Bible story; and so, on a monument on which angels and saints had flattened themselves out into abstract designs, and the Crucifixion had dwindled into a minor and almost unrecognizable decorative theme, panels devoted to subjects from heathen mythology could be introduced as a mere sculptor's caprice without any gross contradiction of the principal purpose of the cross.

What I think we should wonder at is not the resultant intermingling of Christian and pagan subjects, but the muddled state of mind of the local sculptor, and the failure of the Church to remember the former usefulness of the crosses as hoardings that declared the faith by means of a friendly and understandable classical figure-sculpture. If the Church regarded the cross as simply a graven symbol of Christianity and no longer jealously controlled the subject-matter of the carving, then the sculptor was left with nothing but the vague traditional rules of the mason's yard. At Leeds, for instance, he had, according to ancient custom, to execute a scroll at the side and, on the faces, panels with interlace and panels with people; and if one of his panels showed a Christian saint and the next one a popular bit of pagan folklore, all that had gone wrong was that the barbaric nature of the carving itself made the incongruity of the juxtaposition almost negligible. Figure-subjects, in other words, had ceased to be significant, and if it pleased the village community to have Sigurd on the churchyard cross in company with the angels of Christ, His ministers saw no harm in it. For by this time both the angels and Sigurd were, like a run of interlace, just decoration.

One of the most interesting series of panelled crosses is to be found in Co. Durham, namely the 'Aycliffe' type of monument, which is undoubtedly a survival of the Lindisfarne kind of barbaric Hiberno-Saxon art. The Aycliffe shaft itself (Pl. XLI, 2) illustrates admirably the point I have just made about figure-subjects being swallowed up into an ornamental system. The eye is at once attracted by the close-set cheerful decoration arranged in panelled blocks, and the fact that some of these panels contain figures is not the dominating feature of the cross.

When we look at these figured compartments we can easily recognize a Crucifixion and, on the side, a crucifixion of St. Peter; but we do not feel that they are there as narrative pictures or as arresting statements of their subjects; thus the significance of the three nimbed figures side by side is unknown, and we feel it does not very much matter who they are, since in intention and in result they are more pattern than people. The cross is not, and was not intended to be, an exposition of Bible stories; it is a highly decorative exercise in low-relief sculpture in which certain Biblical scenes have been included and, as it were, enmeshed; and, indeed, if we look closely at the figured scenes we can detect them dissolving into the general ornamental composition; for instance, Longinus and Stephaton in the Crucifixion panel are treated very much as though they were details in an interlace composition, and they are not really much more naturalistic than the interlacing Ribbon Style animals in the adjoining panel on the edge of the cross. The disintegrating effect of this handling is best illustrated on a piece of a cross from Gainsford in the same county, now in the Cathedral Library at Durham (Fig. 4). We see the three figures again, now more closely knitted together; their haloes are linked into a continuous band, and the girdles are extended into a single bar that binds the three persons together by interlocking with the uprights formed by the pairs of arms. We could not have a better example of the barbaric translation of once naturally modelled human figures into a staring two-dimensional pattern of hard lines.

The complete lack of coherence and intelligibility in dealing with figure-subjects is also illustrated by the four Durham Chapter House cross-heads in the Cathedral Library. These we know to be later than 995 and earlier than 1083.<sup>1</sup> They are elaborate works into which a great and messy assemblage of detail has been crowded, and it is very difficult to say what it is all supposed to mean. On two cross-heads we recognize an Agnus Dei and on three a Crucifixion; but the rest of the profuse detail is of doubtful significance. We may guess that the oddities in the arms of the Agnus Dei face of what is known as cross-head XX are the Evangelists' symbols (Pl. XLIII, 1); but no one has got very much further, and the astonishing

<sup>1</sup> Haverfield and Greenwell, *Catalogue of Sculptured and Inscribed Stones*. Durham, 1899. p. 90.

'anointing scene' (? the Baptism) on cross-head XXII (Pl. XLIII, 2) has never been explained. We feel that the sculptor did not care very much about the narrative value of his work outside the small circle of his initiates who presumably knew what his symbols were intended to represent, and that it did not very much matter if others failed to recognize the subjects portrayed. On the other hand, the lively design underneath the



FIG. 4.—Fragment of cross, Gainford, Co. Durham. Ht. 16 in.

'anointing scene' of a lion and a serpent combat is executed with a force and sincerity that are both completely lacking in the Agnus Dei. It is easy to see that the artist had here a thoroughly congenial theme, for there is a masterful swing about this barbaric passage, and we observe with pleasure the admirable articulation of the lion achieved by means of a looped ribbon design. To a certain extent the sculptor has invested

the 'anointing scene' with a similar rhythm; but he did badly with the dangling legs, and it is only in the animal-combat detail that he reveals his true calibre as a master of graceful curvilinear design.

#### 'CELTIC' AND 'FULL-LENGTH' CROSSES

Before we leave the subject of the panelled crosses it must be pointed out that they do not represent an exclusively Saxon system of ornament. The panelling is in most cases English in origin; but it can also be Irish, and as an example of one of the late panelled crosses on the west coast that bears a Celtic, as opposed to an English, system of panels, continuing the tradition of the ninth-century Irton cross in Cumberland,<sup>1</sup> and resembling in type late Welsh crosses like that at Penmon in Anglesey<sup>2</sup> or the Maen Achwyfan in Flintshire,<sup>3</sup> I select the early-eleventh-century shaft at Whalley in Lancashire (Fig. 5). The type is rare in England, and there is no need to do more than mention this occasional Celtic aspect of the panelled type of decoration. There is, however, another type of cross in northern England that is originally a Celtic rather than an English form, and this, a more important element in the Northumbrian series, we may call the 'full-length' cross, because its distinguishing feature is a single field of ornament occupying the whole shaft. I suspect that the English series is derived from a group of Celtic crosses in Galloway.<sup>4</sup> The crosses south of the Border that are most closely connected with these particular Scottish monuments are to be found at Dearham and at Muncaster in Cumberland and at Stonegrave (Pl. XLIV, 1) in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The shafts usually have a pronounced entasis and a richly ornamented wheel-head. On the Dearham cross the front bears a close-set single-strand interlace that is known as the 'Manx pattern' because it is commonly found on monuments of the Viking Period in the Isle of Man;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCII, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 157.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Figs. 82-4.

<sup>5</sup> In England it is found on seven crosses in Cumberland, including the Gosforth Cross, Pl. XLIV, 2 (bottom belt of ornament), and it also occurs occasionally in Lancashire, Durham, Northumberland, and Yorkshire. In Wales it is to be seen at Penmon in Anglesey.

on the Stonegrave cross the interlace is of a normal Anglian kind, but it encloses, Irish-fashion, little figures and a cross.<sup>1</sup>

This plainly sets the fashion for some related members of the full-length series that have shafts in the form of a thinnish rectangular slab bearing a chaotic ornament consisting of a degenerate scroll or a tangled interlace, or both together,

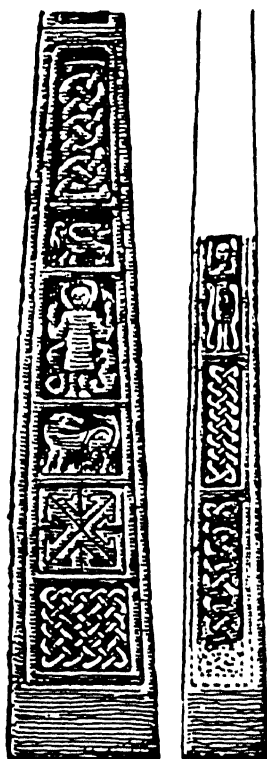


FIG. 5.—Cross-shaft, Whalley, Lancs. Ht. *c.* 7 ft.

woven round small free-style figures, both men and animals. These crosses are definitely a western group, chiefly found in Cumberland and Lancashire, and extending as far south as Prestbury in Cheshire. As a representative of the 'interlace' series we may mention a fragment of a shaft at Lancaster,<sup>2</sup> and as an example of the 'scroll' series the so-called 'Kenneth'

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 148 and note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 171.

cross at Dearham (Pl. XLV, 1). It is, of course, obvious that the ornament on this second monument is a miserable derivative of the Anglian scroll; but it is treated as a smooth single spread of decoration handled according to the Celtic full-length system, and it is better accommodated in the company I have given it than it would be among the more definitely Anglian kinds of crosses.

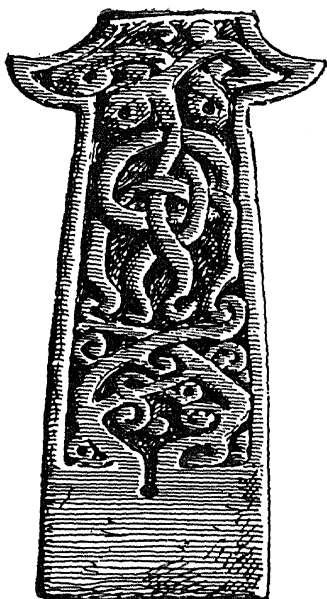
#### BELATED SCROLLS

We began this survey of the late crosses in north England by stressing the astonishing persistence of the sculptural tradition of the Golden Age of the Northumbrian Church. The panelled crosses that have already been described are proof of this, but as additional evidence there are some carvings of another sort that less successfully, but equally convincingly, likewise demonstrate the longevity of the antique Northumbrian art. Among them are some sculptures that may be grouped together as examples of 'belated scrolls' for the reason that the monuments in question are chiefly remarkable for their decoration, which takes the form of derived but still recognizable versions of the Anglian vine-scroll. The group needs some sub-division according to the form of the monument; but in a general summary we may say simply that the crosses concerned are all eleventh-century carvings and are found mostly in the West Riding of Yorkshire. On some of these crosses we can still see the ancient figure-of-eight scroll (Fig. 6, *a* and *c*) that is first found on the Bewcastle cross at the end of the seventh century; on two others, one an outlier of the group at Urswick in Lancashire<sup>1</sup> and the other the cross-base (Fig. 6, *e*) at Walton, West Riding, we have the old inhabited scroll containing figures of people, birds, and animals; and the same tree-scroll with the central stem, but without the contained creatures, is to be seen on the cross-bases at Birstall (Fig. 6, *d*) and Rastrick,<sup>2</sup> West Riding. Moreover, late versions of the original spiral scroll are to be found on a shaft at Stanwick<sup>3</sup> and on the St. Mary Bishophill fragment from York (Fig. 6, *b*).

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 214.

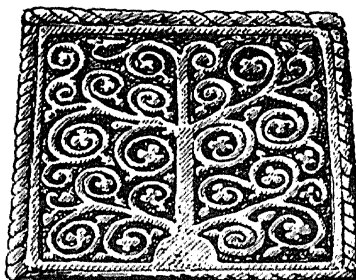
<sup>3</sup> Collingwood, *Anglian Sculpture in the North Riding*. Leeds, 1907. Opp. p. 393.



*a*  
Stavely. Ht. 34 in.



*c*  
Collingham. Ht. 15 in.



*d*  
Birstall. Ht. 20 in.



*b*  
St. Mary Bishophill, York.  
Ht. 34 in.



*e*  
Walton. Ht. 4 ft. 6 in.

FIG. 6.—Cross-fragments from Yorkshire

## PRIMITIVES

Before we leave the subject of the late Northumbrian crosses we must refer to a large group of excessively simple monuments that are obviously the ultimate derivatives of various better carved and more sophisticated kinds of cross and gravestone. They have, however, so nearly returned to the inexpert stage of sculpture's most fumbling beginnings that we may call them here the 'primitives'. As is to be expected, they are of various sorts and sizes, but they divide themselves into a Cumberland and a Yorkshire series and are together the English counterpart of an equally clearly defined group of primitives in Galloway. Most of them are extremely crude works bearing decoration that is often naïve and grotesque, but they often repay a visit by turning out to be much more impressive than photographs of them suggest. I illustrate examples from Cumberland. The Addingham cross (Pl. XLV, 2) has an enormous and heavy wheel-head on a very short shaft and is ornamented with excessively clumsy scroll-work; the Cross Canonby grave-cover (Pl. XLV, 3), which is a tiny thing of pink sandstone, is such a slapdash carving that the sculptor lost patience and left the cabled edge unfinished, just a frame for the top part of the stone; the so-called St. Lawrence, with his 'grid' above his head, is a misshapen and ungainly doll, and the incised wavy lines are mere blackboard scribblings. Thus its faults are obvious and numerous and grave; and there is nothing good to be said of this lamentably executed carving except that the result seemed to me to be entirely charming.

## VII

### SCULPTURE: ROUND-SHAFTS OF NORTH MERCIA

WE come now to the clearly defined group of 'round-shaft' crosses which are the most distinctively specialized monuments in the whole of the Late Saxon series. The majority of them are congregated in the Peak country of north-western Mercia <sup>1</sup> (Fig. 7) and are centred on Macclesfield; but there are southern outliers at Stapleford near Nottingham and at Penn and Bushbury near Wolverhampton, and one as far away as Yetminster in Dorset. In the north there is a small detached group in Cumberland and in the west there is one example in Denbighshire; but on the east side of the Pennine Chain there is only one cross of the type, now represented by a small fragment at West Gilling near Richmond. The distinguishing feature of this kind of cross is that while the lower part of the shaft is rounded, the upper portion is square-sectioned, the junction between the rounded and the squared lengths being marked by plainly defined 'slices', giving an effect like that of squaring the upper part of the trunk of a fir or some similar slender tree. To appreciate this point we have only to look at that famous and most justly admired cross (Pl. XLIV, 2) in Gosforth churchyard, Cumberland. It is 14½ feet in height; the round-sectioned base is partly plain and partly sheathed with a scale-like 'Manx' pattern (p. 63); and then come the four clean-cut 'slices' that change the shaft into a tapering square-sectioned rod, the faces of which are loaded with interlace designs, zoomorphic patterns, and figure-subjects, all done according to the Viking taste, though the ornament is not necessarily of direct Scandinavian origin. The details include a Crucifixion in a cabled panel with Longinus and Stephaton in the space below it; and it is at once obvious that this group has no special prominence as a Christian theme, but is simply one of many equally important elements in the copious assembly of ornaments. Among these are other subjects, not very easily identified but almost certainly of pagan

<sup>1</sup> Since this chapter was written, Mr. T. Pape has published an excellent study of this group of crosses, 'The Round-Shafted Pre-Norman Crosses of the North Staffordshire Area', *Trans. North Staffs Field Club*, 1945-6.

origin. If the whole series of these scenes be taken in order they can with some considerable exercise of the imagination be interpreted as a sequence of events from the Norse Edda,<sup>1</sup> and, on this view, Baldir the Re-Born is represented by Christ on the cross. I must confess I sometimes doubt whether some of the

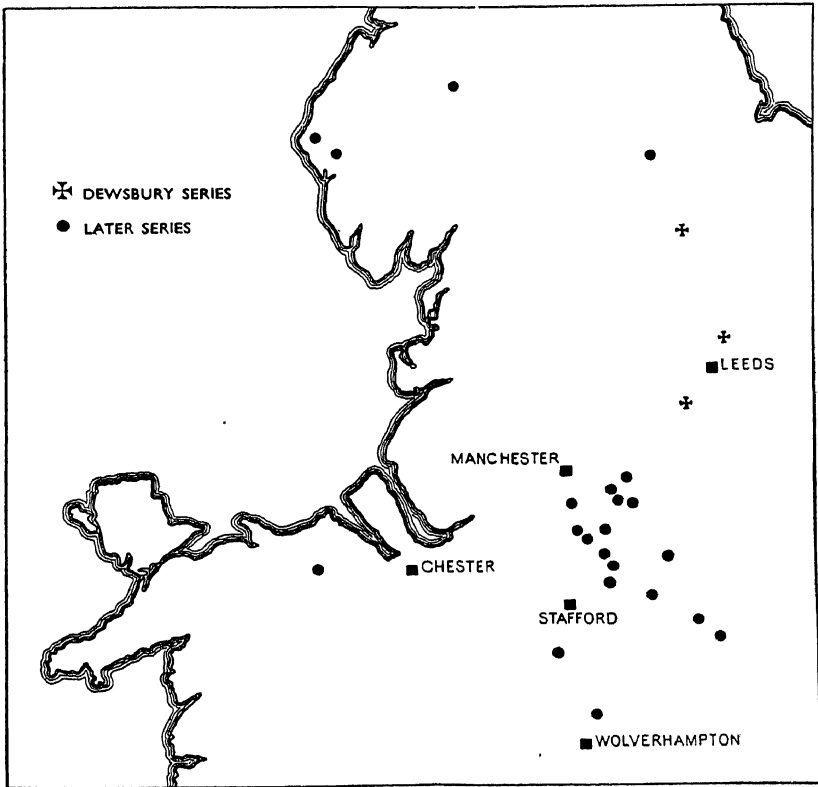


FIG. 7.—Distribution of round-shaft crosses

details so ingeniously explained really did possess any intentional significance, and I am not by any means sure that the Gosforth cross bears a complete systematized exposition of a pagan myth; but I do, of course, admit that most of the designs come straight out of pagan art and have nothing to do with the accustomed subjects of the Christian sculptor in Northumbria.

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

Compared with this graceful and slender Gosforth cross, all the other round-shaft crosses of the type I am describing are clumsier and thicker and shorter. We can see the kind of change that takes place if we travel a few miles along the Cumberland coast from Gosforth to Beckermes St. Bridget where the broken pillars of a pair of the later round-shaft crosses stand side by side in the churchyard. The lower part of the column is now gross and in section rectangular with rounded corners instead of being really round; and there are two heavy bars below the break in the section, and the 'slices' are coarsely outlined with massive mouldings that sadly alter their character (Pl. XLVII, 1). In the Cumberland group, therefore, we must keep the Gosforth type as something by itself, and accept the twin crosses at Beckermes St. Bridget and the twin crosses at the Giant's Grave, Penrith, as the 'Cumberland type' proper. When we look at the numerous round-shaft crosses in the Peak district, the headquarters of the whole series, we see that all of them belong to the Beckermes rather than the Gosforth type, and it will be found that they can be divided into the 'Peak Decorated' and 'Peak Plain' groups, and, further, that the Peak Decorated crosses can be subdivided into a 'Leek' type and an 'Ilam' type.<sup>1</sup> The fine cross in the south-eastern corner of the churchyard at Leek in Staffordshire (Pl. XLVI, 1) is still over 10 feet in height; in general appearance it closely resembles the crosses of the Cumberland type, especially those at the Giant's Grave, Penrith, and, like these, it has a 'bar' below the slices in the form of a thick band of interlace; above this in the sliced faces are scrolls, frets, and interlaces, and below it are pendent scroll-like devices, the rest of the shaft being left plain. The other type, which takes its name from one of the crosses in the churchyard at Ilam, Staffordshire, has a shaft of much the same kind but without the clearly demarcated slices. It may be inferred from this that the Ilam-type crosses are later in date than those in the Leek series, and as contributory evidence I can testify that the ornament on the cross I illustrate (Pl. XLVI, 2, Pl. XLVII, 2) as representative of the type can scarcely be earlier than the middle of the eleventh century. This monument at Brailsford in Derbyshire is now a broken shaft  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height; it has two heavy

<sup>1</sup> Detailed lists of the crosses in these various groups will be found in the footnotes of my paper in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3S. VI (1941), pp. 12, 13.

mouldings at the break between the rounded column and the square-sectioned portion above; but though this upper portion bears fields of interlace in the traditional manner, all trace of the original 'slice' has vanished, and the edges of the squared part of the cross rise abruptly and vertically from the bar. The ornament below consists of a little warrior dissolving into interlace in a typical Staffordshire manner,<sup>1</sup> and a design of interlace and pellets which is unquestionably a very late Viking period pattern.

The next group, which I call the Peak Plain series, consists of crosses that bear very little ornament apart from the mouldings of the bar and the slices, though occasionally there are rough interlaces and scrolls on the faces of the upper portion of the shaft. Possibly these crosses may merge into the Decorated series, but the extremes of the two groups are clear enough, and as a typical example of the Plain series I illustrate (Pl. XLVI, 3) the fine shaft that stands in a ring of trees on the summit of a hill at Clulow, Cheshire. It is 9½ feet in height. It is obviously a drastic simplification of the round-shaft type; but it is not a degenerate unshapely monument, for it has noble proportions, and personally I regard it as a beautiful and truly impressive cross. It belongs to a large series of monuments that are seldom illustrated, and I take pleasure in commending them to any traveller in the Macclesfield district who has time to spare for such simple antiquities.

One Mercian round-shaft cross is, like the Gosforth cross, in a class by itself, and that is the cross at Stapleford, Notts (Pl. XLVI, 4). The shaft is now 10 feet in height; it belongs unmistakably to the round-shaft family because the lower portion has rounded edges and the upper portion is square-sectioned and shows the characteristic slices. The shaft, however, is zoned, and the two principal belts are covered with a close-woven mesh of complicated interlace of varied patterns. Another peculiarity is that on one of the facets of the sliced portion there is a grotesque and flattened spindle-legged angel, and another unusual feature is that the sunken spaces of the slices do not run up into the cross-head but are treated as short-length ornamental panels. It is obvious that this shaft has been decorated not according to the Peak system, but in a distinctly Mercian manner, and it seems to me to reflect the taste

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the cross-shafts at Checkley, Staffs (Pl. L).

for a crowded display of finicky decoration that is illustrated by the earlier Wolverhampton pillar,<sup>1</sup> and to perpetuate the finely woven Anglian interlace to be seen on the Brunswick Casket and the Witham Pins.<sup>2</sup> This abnormal decoration is not really surprising, for the Stapleford cross is situated in the extreme south-east of the main group of round-shaft crosses, and it represents an intrusion of the form outside the area of its main distribution into a district where a quite different ornamental tradition could come into operation. Thus, even further afield, the small fragment of a round-shaft cross at Yetminster in Dorset combines certain features of the Stapleford cross with a figure-sculpture of a southern and more 'sub-Carolingian' kind.

One of the many questions that I ask myself and cannot answer properly is: how did the round-shaft cross begin? Viewing the whole group as described here we might well say that the Gosforth cross, because of its slender and elegant proportions, has every appearance of being the earliest of the existing Late Saxon series; but this leaves us with the problem of explaining the origin of the Gosforth cross. It could be argued that it represents a conversion into stone of a piece of Norse carpentry; for Gosforth is in the Norse area; the cross looks like a sliced tree-trunk; and it bears ornament with a clearly stated Viking accent. Yet, geographically, a Viking derivation is almost impossible because the majority of the round-shafts lie outside the Norse area and outside the Danelaw. It seems to me to be plain enough that the late round-shaft cross is a north Mercian monumental type peculiar to the borderland between civilized England and the Viking provinces, and therefore the overwhelming probability is that it has an English origin. Mr. Collingwood's reconstruction of the ninth-century 'Paulinus' cross at Dewsbury<sup>3</sup> in the West Riding shows that at least one of the great Anglican crosses of the preceding age did have a rounded base and a rectangular upper portion that merge into each other with the characteristic slice of the later series. The 'Apostles' cross at Collingham, also in the West Riding, must have been of much the same form,<sup>4</sup> though it is humbler in kind and its lower portion is

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXVI.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Pls. LXX, LXXI.

<sup>3</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 13, No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Fig. 13, No. 4.

rectangular with rounded edges; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Masham pillar<sup>1</sup> in the North Riding is, as Mr. Collingwood suggested, the broken base of another cross of the Dewsbury kind. I conclude from this evidence that our late round-shaft crosses are immediately derived from an impressive type of figured cross of the Carolingian age, as Mr. Collingwood had already discovered. That such a type should not survive the Danish wars complete with its full paraphernalia of elaborate decoration and rich figure-carvings of the classical kind is easily understandable; and that the essential form of the cross should find an English refuge in the hills outside the principal area of the Viking settlement, and thus give us a special Peakland group of round-shaft crosses, is a plausible supposition. That Gosforth in the north and Stapleford and Yetminster in the south are lonely aberrant interpretations of the same monumental type, in each case materially altered by a highly specialized local taste, is a simple corollary to the main sequence of events. But, unfortunately, all this does not bring us nearer to solving the problem of the origin of the type; for now Dewsbury is left unexplained. If we follow Mr. Collingwood, we must accept it as a version in stone of the Staff Rood, the preacher's wooden cross; but this theory I do not find convincing, for the Dewsbury cross is not only much more sophisticated, much less tree-like, than many of the later crosses in the series; but it appears suddenly in a mature splendour without any simple progenitors to establish its connexion with an original wooden form.

I do not know that I have any better explanation than the Staff Rood theory; but for what it is worth my own view is that the Dewsbury cross is the embodiment of a deliberately created design for an Anglian stone monument that was to unite in a single piece of sculpture the native Northumbrian cross and the Continental carved column, this last being a foreign innovation of the Carolingian age. But whether this be true or no, I think we can agree that the problem of the origin of the round-shaft cross does take us at least a century in time behind the period with which we are here concerned, and I do not feel it is necessary to discuss the matter further. It involves a reconsideration of the significance of the earlier

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 13, No. 5.

elaborately sculptured pillars in southern England at Winchester<sup>1</sup> and Reculver,<sup>2</sup> and a reference to the Pillar of Thomas<sup>3</sup> at Margam Abbey, Glamorganshire, a plain column with a pronounced entasis on which are three simple incised crosses and an inscription that unfortunately does not give us anything more than a vague indication of date. I am unable to say whether these monuments have really anything to do with the round-shaft crosses we are considering in this chapter.

It is necessary, however, to say something about Eliseg's Pillar in the Vale of Llangollen. It is very difficult to think of this, if one judges it by its form alone, as anything but a gross and somewhat simplified member of the Peak Plain group that ought not to be earlier than the eleventh century. In fact, its relationship to the Mercian monuments was recognized as long ago as 1899 by Mr. Romilly Allen who said that it was of a type foreign to Wales and probably the result of Saxon influence in the Principality.<sup>4</sup> The reason why this poor monument is such a puzzle is that it bears an inscription that is held to prove that it was erected in the ninth century. One possible explanation is that Eliseg's Pillar is not derived from the tenth- and eleventh-century Mercian crosses, but from the more ancient ninth-century round-shaft crosses of the Dewsbury type, and is an accidental rustic and isolated anticipation of derived forms that were to become more common later; but it must also be remarked that the inscription itself has not won our complete confidence.

It is now almost entirely illegible, but we can accept the reading of at least thirty-one lines recorded by Edward Lhuyd in 1696, and the first strange thing that we notice is that the pillar, or cross as it probably was, purports to be a memorial put up by a man to his great-grandfather, a highly unusual circumstance that distinguishes it at once from all the other inscribed monuments of this island. Obviously, it is more likely

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XLVI. Note the ninth- or tenth-century date for this proposed by the organizers of the Warburg Institute Exhibition, *English Art and the Mediterranean*, 1941. It had previously been attributed to the seventh century; *ib.*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> J. O. Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*. Oxford, 1876-9. p. 32, s.v. Court Isaf.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1899, p. 19. The Corwen cross mentioned in the same passage is medieval.

to be propaganda of some kind than a pious tribute to the deceased Eliseg, whom we do not otherwise know to have been a person of importance. Secondly, the inscription is abnormally, indeed fantastically, long and elaborate, and it pointedly contradicts what we know to have been a ninth-century tradition about the family concerned. Further, it refers to the English as the *Angli*, whereas in the ninth century the Welsh would more probably call them the Saxons, as in Nennius. We must not, therefore, rule out the possibility that the inscription is a forgery, an eleventh-century compilation intended to enhance the dynastic attractions of some later Powis royalty who, two centuries after the recorded deposition of the ancient house and a possible English interregnum, desired to set up an imposing declaration of the honour due to his predecessors, no doubt with the hope that such a gesture would be interpreted as a revivification of the older dynasty in himself. But I feel no particular confidence in such an explanation, and I gladly abandon the problem of Eliseg's Pillar as one that is at present too difficult for us.<sup>1</sup>

#### ROUND-SHAFT DERIVATIVES

If we are right in saying that the Peak round-shaft crosses represent the survival of a very impressive Anglian type of cross, we might expect better evidence of the importance of this prototype than a mere refugee existence in the Derbyshire and Staffordshire highlands; and it is therefore a significant fact that a number of the late north English crosses outside this area, though they have rectangular sections throughout, nevertheless show themselves to be distinctly connected both in form and in their system of decoration with the round-shaft type. Several of these 'round-shaft derivatives' are to be found in the North Riding, and I figure one (Pl. XLVIII, 1) at West Gilling,

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the inscription see Dr. V. E. Nash-Williams's rendering, *Arch. Camb.* 1938, p. 42. In support of the ninth-century date of the inscription, it is argued that the formula 'det bendictionem super animam' is found again on a ninth-century slab at Llanws, Cardiganshire (Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 144; *Arch. Camb.* 1897, p. 156). The genealogical objection to the inscription is that it traces the descent of the Powis dynasty not, as in the ninth-century Nennian tradition, from a servant of King Benli, Catel Durnluc, but, by trickery with the name Pascent, from a Welsh royal family, a Roman emperor, and a child of God.

where, as I have said, there was a round-shaft proper. The fragment to which I refer has a prominent stopped break, emphasized by a heavy band of interlace, which at once suggests the twofold structure of the round-shaft cross; and, furthermore, below this bar, it has pendent triangular ornamentation that is unquestionably a survival of the round-shaft decorative system. Other crosses of this kind in the North Riding are to be found at Stanwick, Middleton, Brompton, Lastingham, and Kirkby Misperton; and there is another at Sherburn in the East Riding. There is also one at Sockburn, Co. Durham (Pl. LXII). Closer to the main Peak group there is one at Stoke-on-Trent, and up in the north near the Cumberland group we have the Giant's Thumb at Penrith, and the Bromfield and Rockliff crosses. There is also a good example in Lancashire, one of the two crosses in Whalley churchyard (Pl. XLVIII, 2). The ornament on it is ostentatiously and pathetically laboured; and the 'slice' has slipped stupidly down on to the face of the lower part of the shaft below the shoulders; in fact, there is some excuse for regarding it as a poor and rather spiritless affair. It gives, however, a misleading impression of ungainliness because a part of the shaft is missing and I think if we could see the whole cross we should be very impressed by this slack-lined and coarsely decorated monument.

## VIII

### SCULPTURE: DANISH MERCIA AND THE ANGLIAN STYLES

IN the description of the round-shaft crosses we have already referred to a number of north Mercian monuments. We must, however, say a little more about late crosses in the Midlands and East Anglia, not because they are of great importance in themselves, but because they are not well-known and because one or two of them are beautiful. First of all there is a Derbyshire group of late panelled crosses, represented by the shaft at Hope, the Norbury shafts, and a fine shaft at Two Dales, Darley Dale, that was discovered by Mr. T. L. Tudor. All these, with fragments of other crosses belonging to the same type, are admirably described and illustrated in a survey of the Derbyshire monuments published by the late Mr. T. E. Routh who assigns those that I have named, I feel sure correctly, to the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> I reproduce here (Pl. XLIX) Mr. Routh's photograph of the fine Darley Dale shaft, which is 5 feet 4 inches in height. Some of the panels bear short lengths of spiral plant-scrolls combined with longer lengths of interlace into a single ornamental unit, a design that had already appeared in Mercia in the ninth century;<sup>2</sup> but the handling is compact, mannered, and late, and on other panels there is a pelleted 'ring' interlace and other details that make me think that Mr. Routh is right in ascribing this cross to the tenth century. I also illustrate (Pl. XLIX) the upper portion of one of the Norbury shafts, the total height of which is 5 feet 3 inches. One face gives us a good straight-forward example of Midland 'wheel' interlace in its somewhat slack and heavy tenth-century form,<sup>3</sup> and on the edge is combination of an interlace and a figure, apparently that of a warrior. His head is turned towards the spectator in a natural manner, but his body is

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, XCIV (1937), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. at Sandbach (Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 206, and note 4).

<sup>3</sup> I believe this to have a ninth-century Carolingian or Italian origin, though its English handling brings it very near to northern Hiberno-Scottish interlaces. Cf. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 212, and note 2.

flattened back into a patterned silhouette, and he is more inclined to shrink into the inanimate ornamental system imposed by the heavy weight of interlace above him than to stand forth plastically as a convincing human personage.

This shrinkage of the person into the pattern is better illustrated on the late panelled crosses in Staffordshire and Cheshire which bear figures that have actually dissolved into interlace. One example of this very odd figural style we have already noted on the round-shaft cross at Brailsford in Derbyshire; but it is best of all represented on a panelled cross (Pl. L, 2), the first of three now set up side by side in the churchyard at Checkley, Staffordshire.<sup>1</sup> This shaft is 5 feet 3 inches high, and I do not think it can be dated earlier than the eleventh century. It will be seen that though there are quite ambitious groups of figures, sometimes as many as six in a panel, they have no narrative significance nor any corporeal substance; they are simply elements in a cheerfully crowded spread of ornament, and the reason that they so convincingly match the interlace in texture is that they are themselves partly made up of interlace. Even the three principal full-length figures are made up of heads and legs stuck on to waisted lengths of plaitwork, and on the edge of the view of the cross that shows these three figures we see in the upper panel a very well-preserved strip of interlace that on close examination proves to be the body of a human being, for it has two legs dangling from its end.

A different but no less violently barbaric figure-style is to be seen on the surviving fragment (Pl. LI) of a panelled cross, 2 feet 10 inches high, at Shelford, close to Nottingham.<sup>2</sup> This has a crumpled interlace on one edge and a spiraliform scroll, now almost erased, on the other, while on the faces in arched recesses are carvings of the Virgin and Child and of a bearded Seraph. The date must be very late, probably mid-eleventh century. The halo with the curly ends shows that the figural style is connected with that of the Leeds cross, which also has a scroll on the edge, and, more closely, with that of the Nunburnholme shaft in the East Riding which bears a Virgin and Child

<sup>1</sup> Other crosses with 'interlace men' are in Ilam churchyard and in the grounds of Ilam Hall, Staffordshire, and the fragment at the south-west corner of the plinth of the two great crosses at Sandbach, Cheshire.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the Nottinghamshire crosses see Rev. A. du Boulay Hill, *Archaeological Journal*, LXXIII (1916), p. 203.

by no means unlike that at Shelford in composition. The figures at Shelford stand out at the most just about an inch from the background, and they have no real modelling, though there is a pretence of natural relief, for the knees of the Seraph are projecting bosses and the Virgin composition is in two planes, the lap beneath the Child being a sunken space receding to the background level of the Virgin's body; but the general effect is one of flatness, and we see that the sculptor has deliberately forced his design back into a two-dimensional unit of richly ornamental details that include the elaborately beaded frames. What is new is the bold closely creased surface-pattern that accentuates by means of sweeping groups of parallel lines a noble composition of clearly stated masses; and as a consequence of this mannered treatment the Virgin and Child are ghost-like shapes dimly assuming form in the great descending cascades of drapery, while the stiffly erect figure of the Seraph is held taut against the towering vertical spread of the wings. It is clear that this Shelford cross must have been a magnificent carving. The two surviving panels represent a completely successful translation of the once plastic figure-subject into an abstract ornamental style, and their uncompromising indifference to natural proportions and values (note, for instance, the arms of the Seraph) enhance rather than detract from the power of the achieved pattern. Here is the goal towards which the barbaric sculptor in England had hitherto approached with hesitating steps, and it is safe to say that such arresting compositions in the traditional linear style of Hiberno-Saxon carving are only rivalled in the eighth-century cross at St. Andrew Auckland, Co. Durham.<sup>1</sup>

Shelford, then, gives us one very important Midland style. We must note next two fragments of panelled crosses that provide interesting evidence of the survival of a regional type of zoomorphic ornament, a combat-scene between two long-legged animals with cumbersome interlace appendages. The design is to be found in its earliest and finest Midland form on the cross-shaft of *c.* 850 from St. Alkmund's, Derby, now in the museum of that city,<sup>2</sup> and in the period that we are now studying it occurs at Desborough (Pl. LII, 2) and Peakirk, both places in Northamptonshire.

These 'combat' carvings, which are just an incidental motive

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XCVII.

in a Midland style, deserve mention for the not unimportant reason that this same animal-pattern also appears in late Northumbrian art, the examples known to me being two crosses in Durham Cathedral Library from Gainford,<sup>1</sup> a fragment of a cross at Bilton in the West Riding,<sup>2</sup> and a fragment from Folkton in the East Riding, now at York (Pl. LXI, 2). There is no doubt that the pre-Danish St. Alkmund's example at Derby comes first in the series, and we have therefore to record not merely a local 'Five Boroughs' survival of the design in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the spreading of the pattern in this later period to Yorkshire and to Durham. Northumbrian sculpture is usually regarded as a closed field that contains only Danish or Carolingian elements in addition to the local Hiberno-Saxon work, so that the intrusion of a barbaric animal-pattern originating in an adjacent Danelaw province is a fact that is certainly worth recording as significant proof of the independent virility of the Midland work.

The Peakirk fragment has on its side a foliate scroll that can hardly be earlier than the eleventh century. The Desborough carving is much closer to the St. Alkmund style, and is probably not later than the middle of the tenth century; it is a block 2 feet in height, without any taper, and in spite of its cabled edges it is very hard to believe it was part of a cross, for there does not seem to have been any carving at all on two adjacent faces. The side with the animal-combat is 15 inches in width, and there is a front (Pl. LII, 1), 19 inches in width, with admirable panelled ornament, the upper part containing a really fine 'twin beast' detail, a crowded and very pretty carving with severely stylized animals forming part of a gay pattern that includes a human mask and loose pellets. Below this is a panel containing interlace with a closed ring in it.

The Desborough 'twin beast' carving helps us to isolate another Midland style to which the elaborate grave-cover (Pl. LIII), at Hickling, Notts, also belongs, and I have no doubt that the two sculptures represent the period of the Recovery of the Danelaw, or just after it, so that *c.* 950 will do for them both. The Hickling grave-stone, which is 5 feet 9 inches in length, is about three-quarters English and a quarter Danish, the Scandinavian element being the hog-back bears

<sup>1</sup> *Durham Catalogue*, XXXI, XXXII.

<sup>2</sup> Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, Fig. 149.

at the head and foot, and a 'Jellinge' feel about some of the animal-designs, though the creatures are most decidedly Anglian animals and not Viking beasts. A remarkably close similarity to Desborough work is to be seen in the animal-panel with the pellets at the head of the slab, and there are other points of resemblance, including the closed ring detail, to say nothing of the general correspondence in the ornamental style of the whole work. In fact, it is not at all improbable that the Desborough and Hickling carvings are work of the same Midland sculptor.

There are not very many other attractive carvings, and it must be admitted that the greater part of the Midland work in the tenth and eleventh centuries is dull, heavy stuff. There is no sign of an important Romanesque tradition in a Winchester sense,<sup>1</sup> and most of the pre-Conquest fragments, other than those mentioned, are cumbersome architectural fragments, crosses, and grave-slabs that are divided into panels by broad cruciform bars or crudely cabled mouldings, and bear a thick, slack interlace as their principal ornament. There is, for example, a south Nottinghamshire school of these carvings, which is here represented by its most imposing surviving monument, the cross-shaft, as it is called, at Hawksworth. This is a slab 5 feet 9 inches in length that has its two visible faces divided by broad cabled bands into a central rectangular panel with two equal-sized squares at each end. On one face the long central panel is subdivided into six smaller panels by a bar with two transverse arms, and all the panels, large and small, are filled with rather ponderous interlace. The result is an even and not undignified carving; but it is stolid and unimaginative. It is obviously late, possibly as late as the twelfth-century tympanum which it is believed to have supported; but it is undoubtedly Saxon in tradition, and very much the same sort of thing, though belonging to a different school, is to be found in East Anglia<sup>2</sup> where there are numerous small crosses ornamented with interlace and, occasionally, a fret, and also grave-slabs with a central cruciform frame, often in the form of crosses with a U- or V-shaped terminal at each end and a

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the Christ at Barnack, Northants, is Saxon work, *Antiquaries Journal*, XIII (1933), p. 468; but see p. 146 here.

<sup>2</sup> Described with special reference to the Cambridge region by Sir Cyril Fox, *Cambridge Anti. Soc.*, LXXI (1922), p. 15.

transverse bar in the middle, set off by panels of interlace. One of the principal interests of this series is that it provides evidence of the kind of cross-head in use, there being a good example at Whissonsett in Norfolk, a carving about 3 feet in height that was probably a head-stone. As for the grave-slabs, here represented (Pl. LIV) by an example from Milton Bryan in Bedfordshire, Sir Cyril Fox's map shows that these, and the allied crosses too, are mainly to be found in the area between Peterborough, Norwich, and Cambridge; in fact, he cites only two such carvings outside the principal group, the one at Milton Bryan and another in London. They are all late works, probably of the first half of the eleventh century, and they are all alike in being rude and rustic sculptures. They are, in fact, distinguished by an almost painful simplicity and a naïve monotony that is unrelieved by figure-subjects or zoomorphic motives or plant-scrolls; indeed, they exploit only the oldest and the most universal of the English barbaric decorative designs, namely the interlace panel as background to a cruciform framework of bars, and the school must accordingly be accepted as something aloof and isolated, a mere relic of the antique Hiberno-Saxon art, hostile to Danish devices, and to a great extent ignorant of the Anglo-Danish art of Yorkshire, and unaffected by the contemporary fashions of the more sophisticated Anglo-Saxon sculpture in the sphere of West Saxon influence.

## IX

### SCULPTURE: LONDON AND SUSSEX

UNTIL All Hallows, Barkingside, was made a ruin in the war, the only Saxon carvings in London were the Stepney Rood, the rather poor wheel-head of a cross from St. John's Wallbrook, and a grave-slab of the simple south-eastern type from St. Benet Fink. We knew, of course, that there were the Viking monuments from St. Paul's Churchyard; but we did not know that there was a Saxon school of sculptors that worked in the grand manner of the ancient panelled crosses. Now, however, we have four fragments making up over 3 feet of the shaft of such a cross that evidently stood on Tower Hill or somewhere very close to the site of All Hallows, and, more than this, there are substantial remains, including a blocked archway, of the seventh-century church, a foundation of the Abbey of Barking.

The pieces of the cross (Pl. LV) were recovered from the debris of the Gothic walls into which they had been built. One could hardly ask for a more generously ornamented find, for the shaft of this cross, which has cabled edges, bears figure-sculpture, an inscription, a vine-scroll, animal-pattern, and an interlace; but, even so, we are sorry there is not more of it, for the figures are sadly incomplete. There is, however, enough to reveal the cross as an English carving, not in the least like the Viking sculptures from London, and also to show that it is very late work, not earlier than the second quarter of the eleventh century.

Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford has identified the main figure as the remains of a Christ Majesty carving; <sup>1</sup> another face bore representations of St. Peter and St. Paul, both headless; and on another there was part of a personage with the inscription WERHENWORRTH, this, and the Majesty, being a foot or so taller than the two saints. All these figures are flattened and stiff, the main drapery style being one of long and close-cut parallel grooves in the Shelford manner; but Werhenworrrth

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, XXIII (1943), p. 14.

has a frilly skirt, very hard and solid, that seems to be a frozen version of the crumpled Winchester folds, and the Majesty has a robe that descends in simple zig-zag lines. This rests without any signs of feet on an oval frame containing an indistinguishable carving that looked to me like a plant-scroll, though Mr. Radford believes it represents the beasts on which Christ tramples, the sculpture thus continuing the great theme of the principal figures on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. Peter and Paul are very curiously robed in garments that reach only to the knees, and they have the untidy hose or gaiters that are suggested in so many Late Saxon drawings; Mr. Radford interprets them as secular actors in a representation of the Court of Heaven. Their feet overhang the frame of their panel, and this is, of course, a typical Winchester liberty with the picture space.

The scroll below the two Saints is best described as a vine that has assumed the form of the dishevelled acanthus patterns in late Winchester work. These long swaying stalks falling diagonally across the pattern will be noted in the manuscripts (p. 103), and though the plant on this cross is not an acanthus, the feeling is that of the ragged work of the Sompting friezes. The design has, in fact, a recognizable period-value, for these scrolls in tortured disarray are to some extent influenced by the current Viking taste, though they are certainly not Viking work. That this carving is purely English in origin seems to me to be self-evident, and we can say this too of the animal-pattern on the cross in the panel under the Werhenworrrh figure, for it is the ancient Saxon subject of the Twin Beasts which had first taken form in Carolingian England. It is to be found on the Aldborough cross,<sup>1</sup> on one of the Ilkeley crosses,<sup>2</sup> at Collingham,<sup>3</sup> and, later, in the middle-tenth century on a carving at Desborough, Northants (Pl. LII). The All Hallows version is stylistically at the end of the series, being severe, lifeless, and flat, without any of the alert gaiety of the earlier examples; but the important thing is that here in London shortly before the Conquest the pattern still survived. The interlace is also traditional English work; but it is thick, slack, and heavy, and has no special character of time and place.

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, Pl. LXXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. LXXXIX, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XCI.

This extraordinary cross at All Hallows must have been, in spite of an obvious awkwardness in style and a feebleness in execution, a richly variegated and arresting monument. The panels had ceased to be significant as clearly framed spaces; but the shaft was undoubtedly broken up into short lengths of pattern, and the general make-up of figures, plant-scroll, animal-ornament, and interlace connects the carving unmistakably with the long series of high crosses that in the north begins at Ruthwell and ends at Leeds. Yet the All Hallows cross, though of more or less the same age as the Leeds cross, is not really like it, nor is it like any other late Northumbrian or Mercian cross, and it comes from a district where, so far as we know, there had never been a panelled cross at all. It represents an entirely distinctive London style related, but not more than distantly related, to the main tradition of English sculpture in other parts of the country, and it is a very disturbing reminder of the incompleteness of our knowledge of Late Saxon sculpture in the south. The position is that in London shortly before the Conquest at a time not far removed from that when in the same city the finest Viking sculptures in England were carved, and in the period when other southern carvings were trying to reproduce a foreign Romanesque or Byzantine manner, one cross at least was erected that boldly and plainly adhered to the ancient sculptural tradition of pre-Danish England. This carving, then, is the first evidence we have of the potency of the insular school in the south. Its presence may, of course, be due to the accident of some movement of ecclesiastics, a northerner or midlander, for instance, to London, with an attendant migration of the sculptor concerned; but the curiously pronounced idiosyncrasy of the All Hallows cross suggests that this is not the real explanation, and that there was in fact a London school of sculptors practised in the ancient Saxon manner of carving. As this small increase of knowledge has been bought at the price of the cruel destruction of a beautiful and beloved church, we may perhaps feel that the one discovery has been expensive enough; but even if we find nothing more, it is sufficient to entitle us to suspect that there were formerly other Saxon sculptures of this and related kinds in London and the neighbourhood. The lesson seems to be that more significance than is commonly given to them should be attached to the earlier (ninth-century) fragment bearing interlace at the Abbey

Church at Barking, Essex,<sup>1</sup> the parent foundation of All Hallows, and the Saxon carvings at Kingston, Surrey,<sup>2</sup> and at Reigate and Godalming.

One of the most interesting Saxon carvings in the south of England is the small grave-stone (Pl. LVI) in Bexhill church, Sussex, a richly decorated monument that is only 2 feet 9 inches in length. This astonishing stone, closely packed with an intricate ornament of Maltese crosses, densely tangled interlace, imitations of Ribbon Style animals, and fret and plant-scroll details, all in panelled array, is a tombstone that has no parallel elsewhere in England. It is certainly eleventh-century work, but it unmistakably represents in spirit and type a return to the ancient Lindisfarne tradition of the eighth century. How to explain this solitary archaizing sculpture I do not know; but the Bexhill grave-cover is a monument we must remember, for it is proof of a truly notable survival of the pre-Danish Hiberno-Saxon style at an unexpectedly late date and in a district where the style was not anciently nursed, as it had been in Northumbria.

In west Sussex, and no doubt entirely unconnected with the work of the strangely 'Celtic' sculptor at Bexhill, there is a group of very roughly carved grave-slabs that are distant relatives of those that are found in the Cambridge area and at Milton Bryan and in London. They are to be seen at Steyning, Chithurst, and Stedham, and are simply flat slabs with a decoration of plain raised bars, generally a median rib with V-shaped ends, representing the creasing of a coped tombstone. Their date is not known, but they are obviously such very late derivatives of the Cambridge type of grave-slab that we must be prepared to find some of them are post-Conquest and may even be as late as the twelfth century.

<sup>1</sup> Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Dark Ages Exhibn. Cat.*, 1930. Pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, XXXVII (1927), p. 212.

## X

### VIKING ART: THE JELLINGE STYLE

VIKING art did not to any appreciable extent intrude into, or influence, English art at the time of the early raids (*c.* 800), or during the Settlement Period and the time of the Alfredian wars (866–900). In fact, it does not properly come into our story until the tenth century, and it is easy enough to see why this is so. In the victorious West Saxon districts of England from which the Danes had been expelled, the Christian and half-Frankish Winchester art had been established, and in the eyes of the leading men of free England Scandinavian art no doubt seemed to be a hostile thing representing heathendom and the abominable enemies of Anglo-Saxon civilization; and in the Dane-law itself the Viking settlers, presumably with nothing but modest wood-carvings and minor metal and bone ornaments, had to establish their own art at the expense of the still popular Hiberno-Saxon art that, expressed in an imposing series of sculptured crosses and illuminated books, splendidly surpassed Viking art in its own barbaric idiom. Only slowly, then, and with very timid beginnings, could the Scandinavian style make headway, and this it did, not at the point of the sword in a period of Viking ascendancy, but in those years after the Viking settlement when the English had regained the upper hand. It is, indeed, after the final reconquest of the Danelaw under Edred (*d.* 955), after the last of the foreign kings of York had been driven out, and in a period of peace that is roughly defined by the reign of King Edgar (959–75), that some sort of amalgamation between the Hiberno-Saxon and the Viking tastes is first discernible in the districts settled by the invaders.

At this time Danish art was expressed chiefly in what is known as the 'Jellinge' style, Jellinge being the name of a royal seat of the Danish kings in Jutland. The style has two principal forms differentiated by the type of animal-design, and these we may call 'Hiberno-Saxon' Jellinge and 'Great Beast' Jellinge. The first is a decorative style very like that to be seen on some of the famous barbaric ornaments from the British

Isles, for instance the Tara Brooch in Dublin; it is represented in its home country by the sumptuously decorated horse-collars (Pl. LVII) at Copenhagen, probably made in the period 925-50, that show us a familiar, rugged, lavishly over-ornamented display of barbaric forms and patterns. If we select one of these collars and ask what gives it its special Jellinge character, the answer is that it bears interlaces and animal-ornament (Fig. 8) recognizable as a mannered Scandinavian version of the equivalent Irish or Hiberno-Saxon ornaments. Thus Danish animal-pattern of the 'Hiberno-Saxon' Jellinge order is typically a loosely knit confusion of violently racing creatures. It is a very strong and tempestuous design; but it is also muddled and heavy and unsmooth; and we miss the sweeping easy-flowing graciousness of line that is characteristic of good Late Saxon work in this same vein. The distinguishing feature

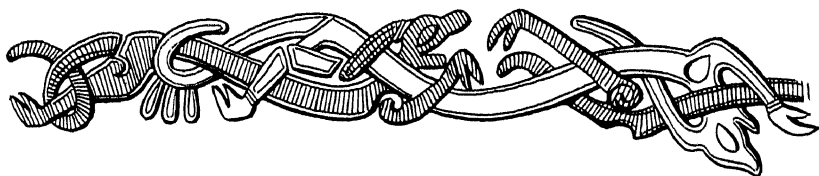


FIG. 8.—Detail of horse-collar, Denmark

is the evenness of the emphasis throughout the whole design. It is all, as it were, of one width and one value. We can see this in the runs of interlace; but it is particularly noticeable in the animal-patterns, for the linked creatures are drawn—ears, limbs, and all—in a single heavy band. There is nothing Anglo-Saxon about this treatment of the animal. If there were, we should see a greater accent on the dominant and fluent ribbon-form of the beast which would stand out against a filmy interlace of lighter wiry lines.

The second type of Jellinge design is based on the Anglian theme of the Great Beast, the best-known example of the original Saxon creature being that cited by Dr. Bröndsted, a detail on one of the faces of the ninth-century cross from St. Alkmund's, Derby.<sup>1</sup> In Denmark the supreme masterpiece of this other version of the style is a large sculptured boulder, Harald Gormsson's memorial stone (Pl. LVIII), erected at

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVII.

Jellinge itself about 980. On one face is a long Runic inscription; on another is a scene that is probably a Crucifixion, a figure of Christ with outstretched arms enmeshed in the typical heavy interlacements; and on the third face is the Great Beast, a splendid lion struggling in the coils of a serpent (Fig. 9). Though there is no doubt a considerable overlap, this 'Great Beast' Jellinge is very possibly a little later in date than the best 'Hiberno-Saxon' Jellinge, and it is worth while noting that there is a final phase, popular about 1000, of the 'Great

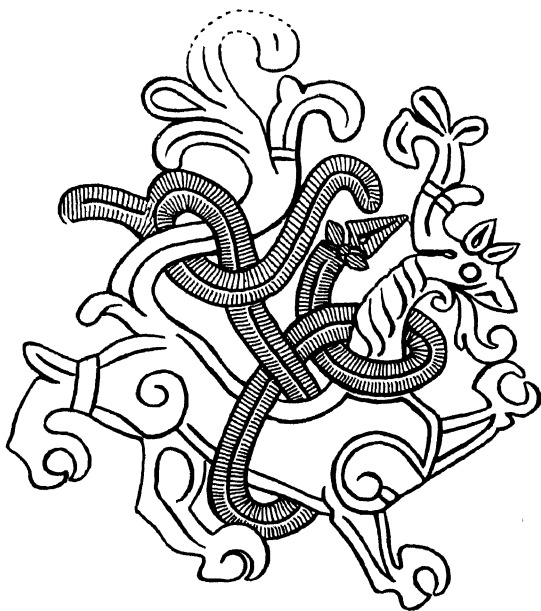


FIG. 9.—Detail from Harald Gormsson's monument, Denmark

Beast' style. It is known to Scandinavian archaeologists as the Mammen style, because a typical example is to be seen on a beautiful axe-head (Pl. LIX, 1) from a barrow at Mammen in Jutland, and it is important as one of the sources of the Runestone Style that will be mentioned in a later chapter (p. 110).

When we look for the Jellinge style in the English Danelaw, we find it at its best on a few minor ornaments that were brought to this country by the Vikings. A good example of the 'Hiberno-Saxon' kind is a bronze chape of a sword-scabbard found in York (Pl. LIX, 3); the animal-head, here done in the

round, is the upward-projecting tongue, but the creature's body on the scutiform plate is openwork decoration of a definitely Scandinavian type, and closely resembles that to be seen on some of the bronze tortoise-brooches of the Vikings. The more mature 'Great Beast' style, as seen on Harald Gormsson's stone, is represented by a circular bone belt-fitting from the Thames at London (Pl. LIX, 2) that bears a most admirable and interesting design directly comparable with the Crucifixion carving on the Jellinge monument. In this case it is a little man, whose head is unfortunately missing, in a suit of mail armour; his body is fitted into the circular field by the surprising device of turning his legs outwards, and then vertically upwards, while his arms hang downwards; and both his legs and his arms are loosely bound to his waist by two interlacing serpents.

In Northumbrian sculpture the authentic Jellinge taste is found far less frequently than might be expected. Nevertheless, there are at least two instances in which the English representative of the Danish Jellinge animal of the 'Hiberno-Saxon' type appears on Danelaw stone-carvings in such a markedly foreign guise that the sculptures in question seem to be more Danish than Anglo-Danish. Neither of them, be it observed, is a cross. Crosses were English, and all the so-called Jellinge designs on the crosses are to a much more appreciable extent Anglicized; but these carvings to which I now refer are a small architectural fragment (Pl. LX, 2) from Clifford Street, York, and a fragment of a hog-back tomb-stone (Pl. LX, 1) at Pickhill, near Northallerton. Both show a forward-facing animal with a lappet or ear that forms a heavy background of two-strand interlace. They must be carvings of the second half of the tenth century, and if they were not the work of a Viking, then the sculptor was an Englishman who had deliberately accustomed himself to designs that had a pronounced Danish accent.

Another obvious Jellinge carving, but of the 'Great Beast' style, is the 'bound Devil' on a small fragment of a cross-shaft (Pl. LXI) at Kirkby Stephen in Westmorland which bears a design of the same order as the Crucifixion on Harald Gormsson's monument and that on the little bone carving that has just been mentioned. It is worth while directing attention to it because in addition to giving us an English version of an

accredited Jellinge pattern, it also gives us in general terms a recognizable Jellinge manner that is to a certain extent independent of subject, a plainly stated and typical Scandinavian fondness for a coarsely exuberant, heavy, and unsteady system of ornament. When we have learnt to look for this, we can find a number of other Jellinge sculptures in our country, and among them is one supreme example of the general style in which the Jellinge manner influences the entire decorative ensemble of an ambitious cross.

This, of course, is Gosforth (Pl. XLIV), which on stylistic grounds would have to be called Anglo-Norse, even if it did not bear Edda subjects. In the Danelaw we find a strongly charac-

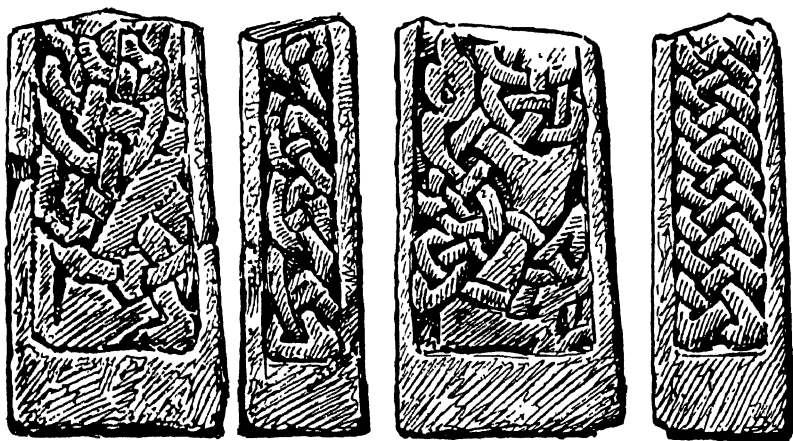


FIG 10.—Cross-shaft, Otley, Yorks. Ht. 23 in.

terized Jellinge influence chiefly in certain details of otherwise English crosses, and on the whole it is surprisingly rare. Indeed, I am inclined to think that the Jellinge style was much more important and more firmly established in the Anglo-Norse area than in the Anglo-Danish world, and the explanation may well be that Anglo-Saxon art in Yorkshire, the headquarters of the Danelaw, was far more vigorous and effective in the Danish period than is commonly believed. It could, in fact, beat Jellinge art at its own barbaric game. Let us, however, in justice to the Danes, cite first of all an example of the maximum Jellinge influence on an English monument in Yorkshire. This is a fragment of a cross-shaft (Fig. 10) at Otley in the West

Riding; it bears a run of entirely normal Anglian interlace, two dishevelled tightly knotted runs of interlace in the Jellinge manner, and a Jellinge-type animal-pattern. In other words, this cross was three-quarters Jellinge, and that is about as far as we get. The other Yorkshire crosses bearing Jellinge ornament are three-quarters English.

It is now necessary to say something about the so-called 'Jellinge animal' in England, or, rather, the beast of what may be called an 'Hiberno-Saxon' Jellinge type. I have mentioned two instances that have a really Danish feel but most of the other examples do not possess a definitely Danish character. The fact is that the creatures we are now studying are neither Scandinavian animals nor English versions of Scandinavian animals, but English barbaric animals returning to fashion as a result of the Viking interest in them. Sometimes, as for example at Otley, they are handled in a recognizably Viking manner; but this does not necessarily mean they are of Viking origin, for it is not hard to find an example of animal-pattern in the Jellinge style that is obviously suspect as regards its origin, for the reason that it is to be found on an accomplished and competently carved English monument. Consider, for instance, the remarkable cross (Pl. LXII) at Sockburn-on-Tees in Co. Durham, just over the Yorkshire boundary. The cross itself is a monument influenced in form by the English 'round-shaft' crosses, since the lower portion of the shaft is plain, while the ornament of the upper part is framed in a curious manner that represents the 'sliced' faces of the round shafts. The tightly woven incoherent mesh of Jellinge-like animals fills one of these faces, and here we have unmistakable evidence of the Viking taste; but another face (Fig. 11) is panelled, English fashion, and includes Saxon frets and cable-patterns, and a little individual study in the Saxon 'portrait' manner of the animal that appears again so differently treated in the Jellinge passage; and on the other two faces there are full-length runs of fine English interlace; so that the whole cross is thoroughly Anglo-Saxon except for the Jellinge panel and the odd zoomorphic treatment of the bottom ends of the 'slices'. It shows us how gently, as it were, the Viking taste intruded, and how cleverly it could be used by a sympathetic English sculptor to enrich and enliven a nobly planned native carving of the end of the tenth century.

In this Sockburn cross the Danish style does not supplant the

English style or even alter the general character of the monument. The most we can say is that Jellinge influence adds a Scandinavian wildness and evenly distributed heaviness to one solitary element in an English design; and as it was the animal-



FIG. 11.—Cross-shaft, Sockburn, Co. Durham. L. of ornament 2 ft. 8 in.

pattern that was particularly susceptible to the Viking taste, we may venture to infer that the obvious Viking interest in this respect was responsible for the revived popularity in the late tenth and early eleventh century of the old English theme of

the interlacing Ribbon Style beast. For that, I think, is what happened. Anglo-Saxon barbaric animal-ornament was revived. And why not? The English had done all this 'Danish art' business before, and could themselves exhibit their own traditional patterns as subjects for the newly fashionable Danish handling. The coped grave-slab (Pl. LXIII) from St. Denis, York, bears a Jellinge pattern in the form of a closely packed and disordered design of animals netted in a thick two-strand interlace; but we observe that some of these creatures are winged<sup>1</sup> and are not really Jellinge animals at all, but the English winged biped. Similarly, on the 'Jellinge' cross-shafts from Folkton, Yorks (Pl. LXI, 2), and Gainford, Durham, the basic pattern is not Danish, but the English 'combat' design (p. 79) to be seen on the pre-Danish St. Alkmund's shaft at Derby,<sup>2</sup> or, going further back, at Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire.<sup>3</sup>

The immediate English pedigree of these particular designs is to my mind further established by the fact that on the Folkton and Gainford crosses the bodies of the animals are emphasized at the expense of the surrounding interlacements, which are relatively light in weight and do not grossly and closely encumber the form of the creature itself. One asks, in fact, why we call such designs Jellinge work, and the answer is that they do plainly possess something in common with the more outspokenly Danish-fashion carvings, as seen at Pickhill, and this something is simply the Viking taste for a flat, sprawling, and heavily vigorous ornament. The point is that they are not Jellinge carvings because they bear characteristically Danish animals. And this is true of other so-called Jellinge crosses that bear an isolated S-shaped beast with backward-bent head, such as we see at Middleton (Pl. LXIV, 1), Ellerburn (Pl. LXIV, 2), Nunnington, and Pickering, all places in the North Riding. These beasts are more English than Danish, for the creature comes straight out of the grand period of Anglo-Saxon art, and its real origin is to be sought in the Lindisfarne Gospels; and, though this is the Viking period, they are still drawn English-fashion with thinnish interlacing appendages. They represent,

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Pl. LXIII, left face, centre. The slab has been drawn by Collingwood, *T.A.F.*, XX, p. 162, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, Pl. XCVII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. LXXIII.

in other words, the antique Hiberno-Saxon barbaric animal-style reappearing as a contemporary of the Danish animal proper, which is *ex hypothesi* its own offspring. To make quite sure about the English character of the Middleton kind of animal-pattern, we have only to look at the tenth-century panelled cross at Aycliffe, Co. Durham.<sup>1</sup> This is good traditional English work, panelled in the ancient Northumbrian style, and it is far too prettily neat and much too methodically organized for us to describe it as influenced by the Jellinge style. Yet a panel on one of its edges contains two interlocked S-shaped beasts of the Middleton type, showing very well indeed the light and open wiriness of the surrounding interlacements that in my view stamp the design as purely Anglo-Saxon work.<sup>2</sup>

The best evidence for the revival of our own animal-ornament in northern England during the Viking Period is supplied by a late-tenth century cross in Cumberland outside the Danish area. It will not do to say that the animals on the cross to which we now refer are Norse; for we know what animals in the Norse and Hiberno-Scandinavian variety of the Jellinge style are like, and these creatures are not of their kind. They are to be seen on the face of a fragment of a shaft (Pl. LXV) at Cross Canonby and are a free-style series of lively lacertine creatures, without interlacing appendages, that bite viciously with backward-turned heads at their own bodies. The very satisfactory reason for claiming that they are entirely and absolutely Hiberno-Saxon is that the same creatures have already made their appearance in Northumbrian art of an earlier age, and can be seen in the corner panels of the front of the Franks casket (Fig. 12) which was carved about 700. Yet the Cross Canonby shaft is Viking-period work, and if we look at its edge we can see these same creatures combined in an interlacing design that most certainly reflects the Scandinavian taste.

What it comes to is that the Jellinge art of the Vikings by introducing into Northumbria Scandinavian animal-ornament

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 97.

<sup>2</sup> There is a second Aycliffe cross of even greater interest from the point of view of the Hiberno-Saxon revival, but it does not seem to have been illustrated. Collingwood, I think correctly, assigns the St. Oswald's shaft at Durham to this period. I am sorry to say that when I was studying an earlier period I attributed it to the eighth century (*Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 137), a mistake that is a tribute to the reality of the tenth-century revival.

and the rugged, unruly Viking decorative themes, revives the parent Hiberno-Saxon art, and, without itself leaving any notably widespread impress as a style imposed by foreign settlers, succeeds in inspiring a renaissance of barbaric art. This is a significant point because at the time of the appearance of Viking art, Northumbrian art was moving in the direction of a Carolingian style, that is to say it was forsaking, although with appreciable hesitation, the barbaric style for the classical style. Had it not been for the Vikings in York, the Easby and the Aldborough crosses would have been followed by others of their



FIG. 12.—Franks casket, detail.

kind. The acanthus would have flourished in the place of the withered vine-scroll, and there would have been a Northumbrian Winchester style. It was the Vikings who put back the clock. Themselves loving barbaric art, they welcomed an English revival of it in the provinces that they occupied. The timid Carolingian experiments were forgotten, and it was with the ancient art of the Columban missionary St. Aidan, not that of the Franchophile Alcuin, that the Saxon sculptors met the challenge of the Northmen. Let us count it to their credit that imported designs were swept quickly into the background, and that the Viking taste was allowed to do little more than

occasionally introduce a note of unrestful dishevelment that by disturbing the smoother and more orderly English designs, has left us an easily recognizable period-style most appropriate to a turbulent age.

## XI

### VIKING ART: THE RINGERIKE STYLE

THE Ringerike style is the next manifestation of the Viking taste that we have to study. Described in the simplest way Ringerike ornament, as Dr. Brøndsted has shown, is Winchester acanthus decoration re-drawn in the ragged and irregular Scandinavian manner, and the explanation of the name given to the style is that it is called after a district in Norway where typical examples of the Scandinavian foliate patterns are found. Their source is discoverable in English illumination, or in minor arts reflecting the manuscript style, and in England it is in the southern districts of our country, particularly in the London area and in Wessex, that we find most of our examples of Ringerike design. Let us also note that these all belong to the period of Viking ascendancy in the eleventh century that began with the successful invasions of Svein (d. 1014) and Cnut (d. 1035) who were kings of England. The Ringerike style, therefore, first made familiar in England in the closing years of Cnut's reign, enjoyed the prestige of being a favourite decoration of a victorious invading people, and it is probable that there must have been a quite general taste for Ringerike designs in this country, since, as will be shown, there can be no doubt about the interest taken in them by the English. For this reason the Ringerike style has an entirely different significance from that of the Jellinge style, which, as we have just seen, is confined to the Danelaw and the Norse area, and remained, so far as Winchester was concerned, the outlandish idiom of subjugated foreigners.

The foliate ornament that eventually turns into Ringerike designs makes its appearance in Denmark in Jellinge art. If we look again at the 'Great Beast' carving (Fig. 9) on Harald Gormsson's memorial, we shall observe that it is enriched by a bold series of substantial leaves that sprout from the tail and crest of the lion, provide him with a tongue, and are to be seen budding from the trunk of the serpent. This strangely incorporated foliage comes from our Winchester art in which a prodigal display of flourishing acanthus-scrolls is one of the

principal decorative features. There is no difficulty in recognizing the plant on the Jellinge stone, for its fat and fleshy leaves are very like those in most of our Winchester manuscripts (cf. Pls. VI, XXVII); and in England beasts with fine tails or crests of this foliage had been known ever since the days of the Book of Cerne<sup>1</sup> (c. 825), and there are also, of course, many examples of these creatures among the later ornamental initials (cf. Pl. XXVIII, and Fig. 2) in the English manuscripts. In other words, in respect of its foliage the Danish carving is still closely connected with an original English style, and though we may say that the leaves have a certain 'Jellinge' feel, they show as yet no signs of being transformed into the subsequent Ringerike ornament.

As we might expect, this pre-Ringerike use of foliage by Viking artists is not without some influence on the art of the Yorkshire Danelaw where we occasionally find the local ribbon-style 'Jellinge' beast entangled in an interlace background that breaks into gay little spiral scrolls and waving tendrils. The three examples of the Yorkshire work thus influenced are a grave-slab at Levisham (Pl. LXVI), a cross-shaft at Sinnington, and a cross, one of the round-shaft derivatives (p. 75), at West Gilling, all monuments in the North Riding. But though we find the Danelaw 'Jellinge' animal thus embellished with surrounding foliate frills, the carving is heavily and awkwardly done, and cannot be described as marking any notable stylistic change in the art of northern England. We are, in fact, moving away from, and not towards, the true Ringerike manner. On the other hand, in southern England we do discover the real Ringerike use of leaf-ornament.

We are able to compare the Great Beast sculpture at Jellinge with an Anglo-Danish gravestone carved in London after the conquest of England; for it happens that the same subject, the combat of the Lion and the Serpent, adorns the tombstone (Pl. LXVII) in the Guildhall Museum of a Viking who was buried on the site of St. Paul's churchyard, probably about the time of the death of King Cnut (1035). It is a rectangular headstone, 2 feet in width, and it was originally painted; and it is beyond dispute the finest Viking antiquity in the country. It is handled in just the same flat style as the Jellinge sculpture, a low relief with a secondary decoration of incised lines, and

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 167.

the two lions are plainly cousins. But the Jellinge heaviness has gone. A gale has swept over the composition. The lion is taut and strained, and his head is turned backwards violently and aggressively; the serpent is a powerful tangle of lines that rear angrily before the chest of the beast, savagely entangle his forelegs, and sweep upwards to battle with his lashing tail. The slowly waving fat acanthus has vanished. In its place are long extravagant tendrils with tightly curled ends that toss tempestuously in the air. It is acanthus transformed into a new and preposterous barbaric foliage. These are the real Ringerike leaves, and the whole work is infused with the general liveliness that we must now learn to recognize as the Ringerike style.

In this, its purely Viking form, Ringerike foliate ornament appears on two other sculptures in southern England, a grave-slab (Pl. LXVIII) from St. Paul's churchyard in the British Museum and a fragmentary carving in the church at Great Canfield, Essex. In the north I have noted it once only, on a small piece of a grave-slab at Otley in the West Riding. In the south, however, in addition to the three carvings mentioned, there are several minor antiquities that bear designs in the obviously foreign Ringerike style. A magnificent example is an engraved bronze panel (Pl. LXXVIII, 1, and Fig. 13), 10 inches long, from a weather-vane that was found in Winchester and is now in the Cathedral Library.<sup>1</sup> It is Viking work of about 1050 with nothing English in it, and there is no better example of a design that in a small compass illustrates the Viking taste, here manifested in strong lines stirred into a slowly writhing mass that is whipped up into a tremulous agitation at the fringes of the main pattern. It has been suggested, and not without good reason, that there is something oriental about such designs as we see on the Winchester panel. This does not mean that the derivation of the foliate ornament from the English acanthus patterns is seriously in doubt, but that the perfected and strongly idiomatic Scandinavian version of our acanthus designs was worked out in the North under influences from the East coming through Russia or Hungary.

The other small objects do not bear quite such extravagantly mannered patterns. The pair of gilt copper mounts (Fig. 14) in the London Museum,<sup>2</sup> found in Smithfield, were once no

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, XXIII (1911), p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> London Museum Catalogue, *London and the Vikings*, Fig. 21.



FIG. 13.—Bronze plate from weather-vane Winchester. L. 10·8 in.

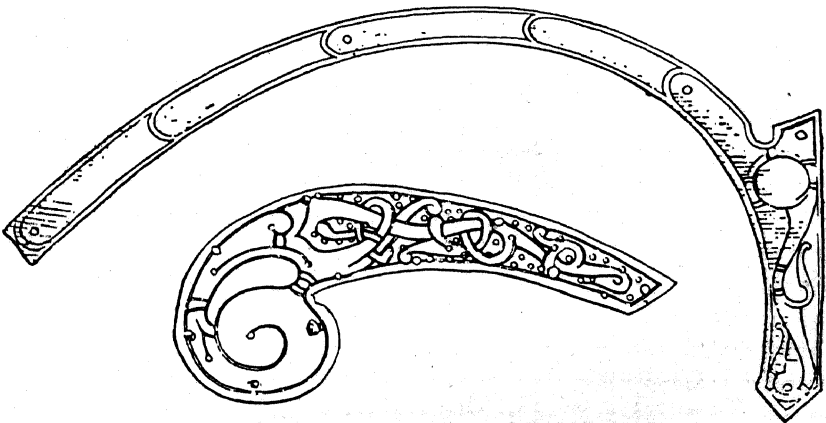


FIG. 14.—Ornamental copper plates, Smithfield.  $\frac{1}{2}$

doubt nailed to some piece of wooden furniture or a chest. The ornament upon the smaller fitting is closely related to that on the Winchester bronze, but on the vertical bar of the larger mount there is one of the dainty economical little sketches that reveal the principal graces of the Ringerike style. The Celtic bronze-worker in prehistoric Britain who had conjured similar lightly trailing designs out of the Greek scroll would have recognized the Viking craftsman as his equal in delicate ingenuity, and it is a charming thing that twice in the history of our early art in England barbaric taste should have converted sombre classical foliage into these sensitively curling wisps. A similar lightness of touch is to be seen in the engraved design on the bronze socket of an iron spearhead (Pl. LXIX, 1)  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, found outside the city walls of York<sup>1</sup> and now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Farnham, Dorset. Other Ringerike patterns, however, are of a heavier, closer sort, and as a contrast to this open strapwork with the pretty curling leaves at the top, I illustrate a bone pin with a carved head (Pl. LXIX, 3) that was found in the Thames, and is in the British Museum.

Without in any way copying the real Scandinavian Ringerike style, English art nevertheless, upon occasion, produced its own contemporary dishevelled travesty of the acanthus-scroll as though in response to the strongly expressed Viking taste. In our eleventh-century sculpture we see this very rarely, but a good example is a gravestone (Pl. LXX, 2) from Bibury, Gloucestershire, now in the British Museum. It bears a foliate figure-of-eight scroll, in type like that on the weather-vane, and it has the same sort of agitated excrescences, and the same sort of complicated interlacements at the crossing of the main branches. But we notice that the design lacks the extravagant savagery of the true Ringerike style. The foliage is much gentler, much more natural, and is just a poor arid version of the fine acanthus-scrolls in our Winchester manuscripts; and when, taking this hint, we find the interlacements at the crossings, the forward-facing lion-masks, and the dragon-heads at the bottom of the scroll, are all part of the paraphernalia of Winchester art, as seen for instance in the well-known initial (Pl. XXVII, 1) in the Beatus Vir folio of the British Museum Psalter, Harley 2904, then we have to accept the Bibury carving as bearing an

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, VI (1849), p. 402.

English design vaguely altered in the direction of the fluttering disorder of Ringerike art. The curious arched carving at Somerford Keynes in Gloucestershire, 4 miles south of Cirencester, is another example of this Bibury type of sculpture,<sup>1</sup> and there is further evidence of the same sort of barbaric handling of our own Saxon carvings in the church at Sompting, Sussex, where built into the chancel walls, there are short lengths of an acanthus frieze that has long and stalky leaves in a markedly ragged disarray (Pl. LXX, 1).

In the English manuscripts of the eleventh century this Saxon approach to something like a Ringerike manner is more clearly emphasized. There are, in fact, occasional signs of such an alteration in style in late Winchester work like the Gospels

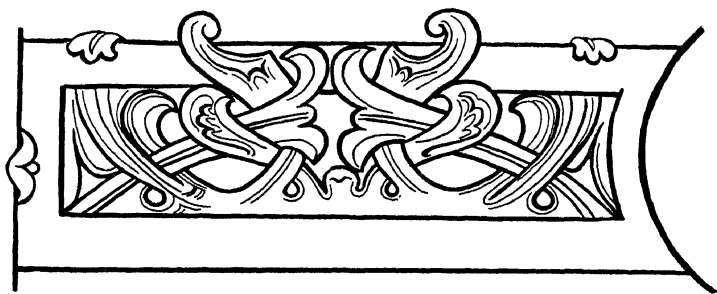


FIG. 15.—Detail, Bury St. Edmunds Psalter, f. 62. Vatican Library

(B. 10. 4) at Trinity College, Cambridge (Pl. LXXI, 1), the Missal of Robert of Jumièges at Rouen (Pl. X), the Gospels at Monte Cassino, the Gospels (MS. 709) in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and in the Bury St. Edmunds Gospels (Harley 76) in the British Museum (Pl. LXXI, 2, 3). In all of these we find that in certain passages the acanthus assumes a thinner and more disordered form than was usual in the earlier Winchester work, and to illustrate this nascent Ringerike feel in English illumination there is (Fig. 15) a detail from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter in the Vatican Library in which the leaves, though formally and symmetrically posed and unmistakably English in character, can nevertheless be described as storm-beaten in as much as they lean crazily across each other at violently inclined angles. Additional proof that there is an independent approach to the Ringerike type of design is afforded by the

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, XXVI (1913-14), p. 67.

group of initials that have their origin in the Bosworth Psalter in the British Museum, a manuscript that is Canterbury work of the time of St. Dunstan and may have been prepared for the archbishop's own use. In this Psalter the three principal initials are best described as zoomorphic acanthus-scrolls in the form of a bold smooth interlace made up of a split-bar scaffolding with elongated tendril-like leaves (Pl. XXX, 1, 3) and upon occasion including such unusual features as closed rings and sharp-corned 'elbows' with an interior acanthus frill. These initials are remarkable for their colouring, which is crude, jarring, and cold. In origin this style is Frankish, but the Psalter presents a most extraordinary barbaric insular version of the Frankish work from which it is chiefly derived, and it is a very astonishing thing that such a style should flourish in the south of England in the Winchester period in an important manuscript believed to have been used by St. Dunstan himself. We get an unexpected revelation of what we may describe as a generally suppressed tendency of south English art in the tenth century, and we have to remember that this style was further developed in some of the author-texts of the first half of the eleventh century. It is certain that the artists who drew these initials would find nothing distastefully foreign and unacceptable in a true Ringerike pattern such as that, which some of them may have actually seen, on the Winchester weather-vane. The design on this piece would, in fact, be likely to give them very great pleasure, and thus in the details of one or two of the great ecclesiastical manuscripts of the real Winchester type and in the background of their minor decorative initials, we may feel some possible community of taste emerging which would help to explain the Viking's choice of the English acanthus-scroll as his theme for the Ringerike design and the Englishman's friendliness to the Viking version of it.

There can be no doubt about this friendliness. In the *Cædmon* manuscript (Junius 11) in the Bodleian Library, an English work of the period 1030-50, on a blank space at the end of the book, is a design for the binding (Pl. LXXII, 2); it is obviously one man's work, and yet the face is a good English acanthus pattern and the spine is a length of genuine Ringerike ornament. There is no mistake about it; for on the end page of the book are drawings in the same hand of two oval loops (Pl. LXXII, 1), probably designs for the metalwork clasps of the binding, that

bear pure Ringerike pattern of the most sophisticated sort. The sketches show that this particular English artist was, as it were, bilingual, for he could draw traditional Winchester acanthus designs and also foliate patterns in the Scandinavian style, these last being done as well as any Viking could do them. Perhaps the Cædmon artist was deliberately trying to please two masters, an English ecclesiastic and a Viking royalty; for we certainly cannot pretend to be surprised at the juxtaposition of the English and Viking styles in the artistic output of an Anglo-Danish society that doubtless had very good reason for narrowing the gulf between the two arts by clever combinations of this sort. The point is that the union was made easier by the existing barbaric tendencies in south English art. We have already given an example of this kind of work, and there are others to be found in this same Cædmon manuscript; for instance a drawing of Cainan sitting in judgement in an architectural frame that is at once notable for the ludicrous dishevelment of the foliage in the capitals (Pl. LXXIII, 2). The disordered mixture of leaves and bony interlace not only fails to have any architectural steadiness, but spills itself off the capital and waves crazily into space. A column at the side of the charming scene of the Judgement on the Serpent bears similarly erratic and ill-disciplined ornament. It is just untidy nonsense, not part of a comprehensible and systematized decorative scheme; and we must regard it as a little period drollery very prettily inserted in what is otherwise fairly conventional south English drawing. But the important thing is that these two passages harmonize completely with the Ringerike designs in the same book.

There is one manuscript in which the Ringerike element is not an interpolation, as in the binding design of the Cædmon manuscript, but really an important element affecting the main ornament of the book. This is a Psalter of *c.* 1050 in Cambridge University Library. It contains some crude and ill-proportioned full-page drawings in orange-red and green that copy with an obvious awkwardness the Winchester manner, a variety of English initials in a purely Anglo-Saxon tradition, and also a number of initials that really do possess the true Ringerike feel. There is no other word for them but Anglo-Scandinavian. To perceive the significance of this foreign artist's style we must look at his handling of an orthodox English subject, the great

initial B of the *Beatus Vir folio* (Pl. LXXIV), and compare it with the most celebrated of the tenth-century Winchester versions (Pl. XXVII, 1), the British Museum Psalter, Harley 2904 (probably Ramsey work of *c.* 980). In the first place the design in the Cambridge manuscript has ceased to be a heavy dominating initial in brilliant colours. It is a wispy, faint thing outlined in pale umber with a little light yellow interior colouring. Furthermore, it is caught up into the overpowering ornamental system of the whole page, and is linked to the frame itself by the biting animal-heads at the corner of the upright. What it has lost in solidity, it has gained in liveliness and vigour. The acanthus is thinner; it reaches out long curling tendrils and clutches tightly; a new and animated wiry disorder possesses the entire letter, and the same excited turbulence is to be seen in the frame that is filled by acanthus whipped up into a flurry of swaying leaves, some of which, quite irrationally, blow out from the bars of the frame into the surrounding space. It is more than the mere English counterpart of the Ringerike style as seen, for instance, on the Bibury stone; it is an indubitable approach, though using an English design and a purely English apparatus, to the actual Scandinavian idiom; and therefore it is no surprise to us, when we examine the manuscript further for this particular artist's work, to find that some of his smaller initials, drawn in brown with green and buff fillings, are closer still to Scandinavian Ringerike (Pl. LXXIII). They show the long bare Ringerike tendril, and the fiery flourish of these spirited tentacles is such that a Viking must have declared them to have been copied off one of his own monuments. Thus on the evidence of this manuscript we find in southern England in the middle of the eleventh century a nicely balanced state of affairs in which there seems to be a real possibility of some sort of fusion between the Winchester and the Ringerike styles, which had already appeared side by side in another manuscript. It is important, however, to say roundly that there is in fact no evidence that this fusion was achieved, or even that it was generally desired. What must be emphasized here is that the parent English art and its Scandinavian offspring were not barred from each other by a rigid frontier of prejudice separating the Anglo-Saxon and the Viking tastes. Political conditions permitted them to exist side by side with equal prestige, and therefore signs of close contact between them are to be expected.

Nevertheless, the Cambridge Psalter is an exceptional testimony to such contact; and it is introduced not as a document revealing a general trend of Anglo-Saxon art, but simply as an illustration of the understandable vagaries of one original artist.

We have seen that in northern England the Ringerike style in a recognizable form is found once only, namely at Otley. Nevertheless certain Northumbrian crosses, bearing the 'belated scrolls', that is to say the final degradations of the original Anglian vine-scroll, seem to possess in certain details a faint Ringerike flavour, as though distantly influenced by the Viking taste that had become so fashionable in the south. An example is to be seen at Staveley, between Knaresborough and Boroughbridge, in the West Riding, where there is a cross-shaft (Fig. 6, *a*) ornamented on the face with a degenerate figure-of-eight scroll, above which is a tangled interlace ending in dragged tendrils, that, though lacking the authentic Scandinavian fieriness, are however of the Ringerike kind. The same thing can be seen on a cross at Barwick-in-Elmet, close to Leeds; but it is in this city itself that we have the best example, for on the fine panelled cross in the chancel of the Parish Church (cf. Pl. XLI) there is a length of interlace that breaks into a vigorously waving tangle of these characteristic tendrils with the curling tips (Fig. 16). I doubt whether a Viking would have recognized that the Staveley and Barwick patterns were influenced by the Ringerike style; but at Leeds he would have been very much impressed at finding something that really does look like a little bit of his native art flaunted on a cross that was otherwise entirely English in character. Of course, even this, added to the undoubtedly Ringerike carving on the gravestone at Otley, does not amount to very much, and it remains true that the story of the Ringerike style in England is one that almost exclusively concerns our southern art.

The occasional harmony between the two styles that we have been able to detect in the undercurrents of Winchester art does not in any way alter the dominant fact that they were by intention irreconcilable. Winchester painting and drawing represented the classical tradition and were principally concerned with naturalistic portrayal of the human figure, while Viking art brought to England nothing but abstract barbaric ornament. Nevertheless, there was no clash nor sustained struggle between them. To some extent conflict was prevented, as we have seen,

by the English friendliness towards the art of the invaders; but a much more significant breaking down of the barriers was the fact that the victorious Danes did not seek to belittle or discountenance the immeasurably more impressive native art. On the contrary, the court style of the English kings became the court style of the Danish conquerors, and there is proof of this in the New Minster Register, a British Museum manuscript of about 1020, in which there is a picture (Pl. XVIII) of King

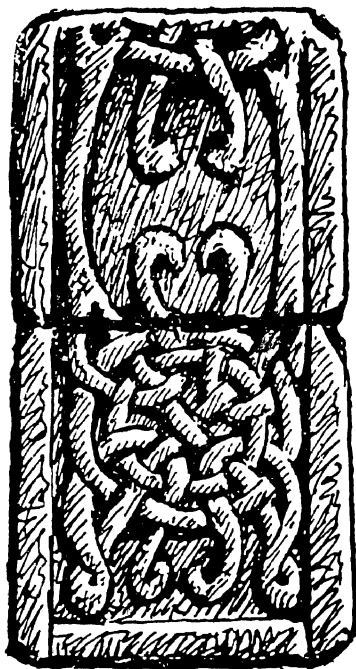


FIG. 16.—Detail of cross-shaft, Leeds

Cnut, accompanied by his English wife Ælfgifu Emma, placing a golden cross upon the high altar of the monastery. It is a purely English work, done with all the natural grace and fluency of Winchester drawing at its best, and it shows us that in the hour of his triumph a Viking, who had been crowned King of England, paid homage to the art of the conquered people, and as a good Christian monarch of European importance sponsored the traditional art of Christendom and of Western Civilization. Under such plainly declared royal patronage the Winchester

style continued to flourish up to, and even beyond, the date of the Norman Conquest, while the Danish style after some inconsequential initial success in this country accordingly falters and fails. We have to remember that there is no evidence that the Ringerike style appears in this country before the closing years of Cnut's reign, and thus condemned by its own principal protagonist to a place in the background, its relative insignificance is not surprising. The real position is that against the few instances of its intrusion into English work cited here, must be set a large body of noble manuscripts and fine sculptures of the first half of the eleventh century, upon which the Viking taste had made no impression. Thus, summing up as regards the Ringerike style, it is on the whole true that in spite of the Danish ascendancy there is only evidence of slight and not profound Viking influence upon southern English art up to the time of the Norman Conquest. On the other hand, some decades afterwards, with the appearance of the Urnes style, we find ourselves once more involved with the problems of Scandinavian art; but the Urnes style lies outside the scope of this chapter.

## XII

### VIKING ART: THE URNES STYLE

WHILE describing the Ringerike style of the first half of the eleventh century, we said its typical pattern of leaves was restless and stormily disordered, often like plumes blowing in a strong wind. The Viking designs that subsequently became popular in this island towards the end of the eleventh century still retain something of a traditional turbulent wildness, but they revert to the older manner of generously flowing ribbon-patterns, and their central theme is usually not a plant-scroll but a lacertine animal. They are executed in what is usually called the 'Urnes' style.

It is not a particularly good name, because the carved façade of the Urnes mast-church in the Sogn fjord of Norway represents merely a late-Norwegian variant form of a general North Sea and Baltic style, and is in no sense the source of the style; nor is the Urnes district its principal headquarters. But archaeologists are used to labels of this kind, and it is agreed that once they have become familiar it is not worth while disturbing them. Probably the less pleasant-sounding name 'Runestone style' would be better, for the reason that the runestones of eastern Scandinavia do seem to provide us with the one field in which a full and vigorous development of the new style can be followed, namely south and central Sweden and the islands of Öland and Gotland. Nevertheless, let us keep to the old name, 'Urnes' here.

The Swedish monuments to which we have referred are surprisingly numerous, and they are often noble works of art. At first the designs engraved on them are closely related to the Danish 'Great Beast' and the Norwegian Ringerike styles; but as the eleventh century advances the favourite pattern on the stones, a Great Beast or the Twin Beasts, is done in a characteristically fluent S-shaped form and is enriched with an open and boldly planned interlace of limbs, or, if the design be originally the Lion-Serpent combat, with a separate mesh of interlace representing the enveloping coils of the snake. The effect is that the solemn heaviness of the Danish 'Great Beast'

style is lightened and the tempestuous waving of the Ringerike tendrils is smoothed into slick and powerful curves. To fix the achieved Urnes style immediately I illustrate (Fig. 17) a runestone at Ytterselö in Södermanland, though it is only a fragment with the backward-turned head of a Great Beast; but this head and mane and the surrounding convolutions of the serpent can be instructively compared with the similar passage on the St. Paul's grave-stone (Pl. LXVII). The London carving is 'Ringerike' with all the strained and agitated storminess of



FIG. 17.—Runestone, Ytterselö, Sweden

its kind; the Swedish carving is 'Urnes' with all the exuberant richness and billowing curves of the new style.

The transition from the ponderous Great Beast design into the more graceful Urnes style seems to have been in progress about the time (*c.* 1000) of the carving of the third Ardre stone (Pl. LXXVI) in Gotland, where we see on one face the Twin Beasts softening into a smooth-flowing ribbon-pattern; but this monument represents no more than an early stage in the development of the Urnes style, and to it succeeds in the late eleventh century a more extravagantly mannered version that

tends to assume two principal forms, one represented by the Resmo runestone in Ölund and also by the Urnes carvings themselves (Pl. LXXVII), and the other on a stone at Simris in Scania (Pl. LXXV). In the Resmo pattern there is an assembly of S-shaped beasts in an ostentatious but inexact symmetrical arrangement; they have smooth elongated bodies contorted into sweeping figure-of-eight loops, and round them in an adroitly woven confusion is a loose enveloping pattern of thin whip-like lines in 'eggs and eights' that represent the serpents that battle with the beasts. This design very closely corresponds to that on the Urnes mast-church, built about 1060, though the Urnes carvings possess their own characteristic asymmetrical grace, as if still conscious of Ringerike rhythms. Indeed, on the doorway and on the adjoining pillars, where the carving is done in deep relief, the work carries its asymmetry to the point of disorder, and consequently suffers from a lumpy restlessness and incoherence, even though the details are crisp and spirited. In spite of this difference of treatment, however, Resmo and Urnes will stand for the same type of design. The Urnes animal becomes lacertine to an astonishing degree and almost merges himself in the lacy mesh of the attacking serpents (Fig. 18); but let us note that on the door, and indeed on the gable too, the Urnes beast is clearly shown to be fighting creatures of his own kind, and this is, in fact, the old-established theme of the English Danelaw such as we see on the St. Alkmund's cross at Derby and at Folkton and elsewhere (p. 79), for on the Urnes door the wiry lines with leaf-like terminals that are dexterously spun round and round the creatures are parts of the animals themselves. The quadruped on the left of the door with his feet on the ground shows with decisive clarity that the Urnes animal is no child of the Jellinge or Irish or Hiberno-Saxon ribbon-style animal, but is, as Scandinavian archaeologists are agreed, the Great Beast himself whom the Danes had first seen on the English crosses.

The second type of Urnes design, which we may call 'snake' Urnes, here illustrated by the Simris monument (Pl. LXXV), is a fantastic transformation of the beast into an extravagantly simplified interlace of narrow ribbons that coil upon themselves in graceful loops, and may be, as in the upper design, a single creature, or, as in the lower one, combined with the convolutions of a similarly extravagant serpent. It is probable that the

use of the border ribbon of runes on the Swedish stones as the body of the beast encouraged this remarkable development in Scandinavian design, but we are concerned here simply with the achieved pattern, and I do not think this has been sufficiently honoured as one of the most splendid inventions of Scandinavian art. It is unsurpassed in violent and elastic power by any of the preceding barbaric ribbon-style designs, and we should pause to note the bravery and challenge of the short-lived vogue it enjoyed; for the vivacious splendour of the best Scandinavian Urnes, as seen on this stone and in the lovely

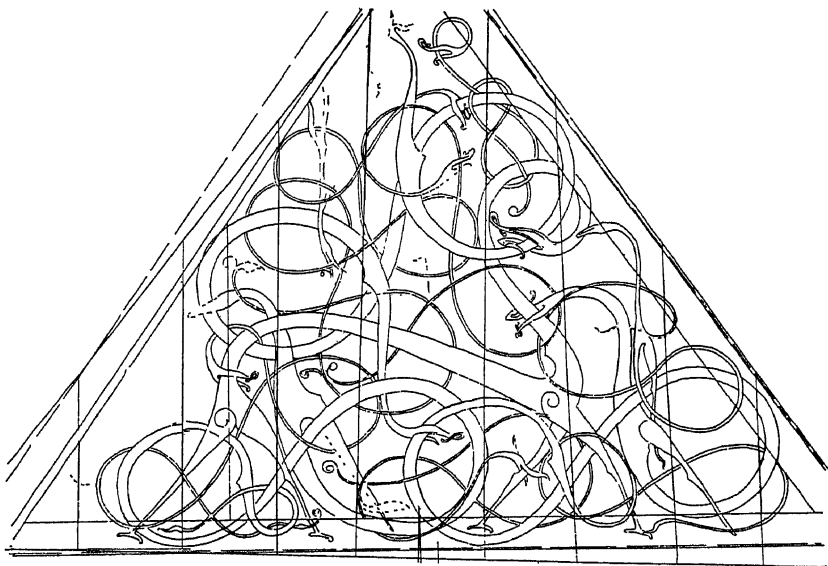


FIG. 18.—West gable, Urnes church, Norway

pattern on the Urnes gable, was, it is to be noted, born of the inauspicious years when a ponderous provincial Romanesque was threatening to absorb the whole ability and interest of the northern artists. The Urnes style, in fact, developed in the comparative remoteness of eastern Scandinavia, is another illustration of the well-established law that it is in places to some extent isolated from Western influences, either by distance or by political accident or for both reasons, that the truest excellencies of barbaric art are perfected; and it has in addition the sorrowful distinction of being the brilliant final

flowering of the famous six-hundred-year-old barbaric animal-ornament of the Scandinavians and the English and the Irish.

In Ireland there is no convincing evidence that the Urnes style was introduced into the native art before the last quarter of the eleventh century, but it was certainly in vogue about the year 1100 and was used for the decoration of a number of dated pieces of costly metalwork made at the turn of the century; for example, the Shrine of the Bell of St. Patrick's Will (1091-1105), the Shrine of St. Lachtin's Arm (1100-25), and the Cross of Cong (*c.* 1123).

In general Irish Urnes takes two forms, a Great Beast pattern and a Ringerike-pattern derivative. The first can be seen in a maturely accomplished form on the Cross of Cong (Pl. LXXVIII) and on the contemporary St. Manchan's Shrine, both products of the Connaught school of metalwork in the days of Turlough O'Connor. The main element in the design is a quadruped with a curly mane, the body heavily bordered and cross-hatched in the manner of the Irish-Jellinge kind of animal, as seen on the tenth- and eleventh-century silver penannular brooches, but nevertheless a new creature, the Great Beast struggling with the serpent, which provides it with a background of open interlace. There are also stone-carvings that show this 'combat' style, and of these the pre-eminent example is the sarcophagus at Cashel (Pl. LXXIX), a noble work of the end of the eleventh century that has considerable virtue as sculpture, for the pattern is deep-cut and handled pluckily as an architectural accessory, though it is really copied from metalwork examples like the Cross of Cong; for on another monument, the High Cross of Tuam, probably an early twelfth-century work, the Great Beast designs of Irish Urnes are in very low relief and obviously closely connected with the metalwork reliquaries and shrines.

The second variety of Irish Urnes, to be found, I believe, only in the metalwork, is a strongly tangled interlace done in the smooth loose-linked Urnes fashion and provided with an occasional terminal head, as though the pattern were made up of a collection of snakes. The best-known example is the beautiful 'Crosier of the Abbots' from Clonmacnoise (Pl. LXXX), and it will be agreed that if the Urnes interlace of animals on the crook be compared with a contemporary Irish Ringerike

pattern, for instance that on the side of the Misach<sup>1</sup> or the Cathac of St. Columba<sup>2</sup> (1062-98), the design on the crosier must be accepted as simply an Urnes rendering of the older Ringerike foliate theme. The Bearnan Cuilleán (c. 1100), a bell-shrine from Tipperary (Pl. LXXX, 1) now in the British Museum, shows us how the change took place, for we can see the Ringerike 'ragged feathers' of the animal-heads on the shoulders of the upper part of the shrine assuming the bold supple rhythm of the Urnes style, while on the hood of the mount there is a dubious interlace, probably intended to be zoomorphic, that, though it preserves something of the Ringerike dishevelment, nevertheless foreshadows the type of design on the Crosier of the Abbots. I suggest especially a comparison of the vertical design on the right shoulder of the hood with the design on the side of the end-piece of the crosier crook. To illustrate even more clearly the nature of this second variety of Irish Urnes we may call attention to the remarkable evidence provided by the bone crosier (Pl. LXXXI), unmistakably Irish work, from Aghadoe Cathedral, Co. Kerry, now in the Stockholm Museum, for the stem of this bears an indubitable foliate scroll-pattern that thins out below the level of the crook into an avowedly Urnes pattern of the most sophisticated kind. The upper scroll is Romanesque in character, and at this late date (early twelfth century) has little of the Ringerike element in it; but the important point is that it passes with no abrupt transition into an Urnes design and thus provides a combination of the two patterns that significantly supports my contention that the earlier relation between Ringerike foliate ornament in Ireland and the second kind of Irish Urnes was that of parent and child. We shall see that the West Marton cross (p. 123) in England is a similar example of the fusion between the newly imported Romanesque style and the Urnes Taste.

This is a significant matter because the Urnes style is now revealed to us not as a single travelling pattern carried from Sweden to Norway and to Ireland, but as a period manner that could utilize and transform patterns other than the original Scandinavian theme, the Great Beast. The lesson will help us when we come to the English evidence.

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, II (1941), Pl. 129, 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. R.I.A.*, XXXIII (1916), Sect. G, Pl. XXXVIII.

The authentic Urnes 'Great Beast' ornament is found in this country only on a few minor objects of metalwork (Pl. LXXXII), most of which come from what had been the Danelaw. They have in common the fact that they are all tiny, are in openwork, and have a design the basis of which is an extravagantly curled animal enmeshed in the lighter interlace of limbs and tails and serpentine coils. The pieces in question are two bronze mounts, one from Wisbech and one from Colchester, two bronze book-clasps, one from Lincoln and one from Peterborough, and also a gilt-bronze brooch from Pitney, Somerset, and a book-clasp

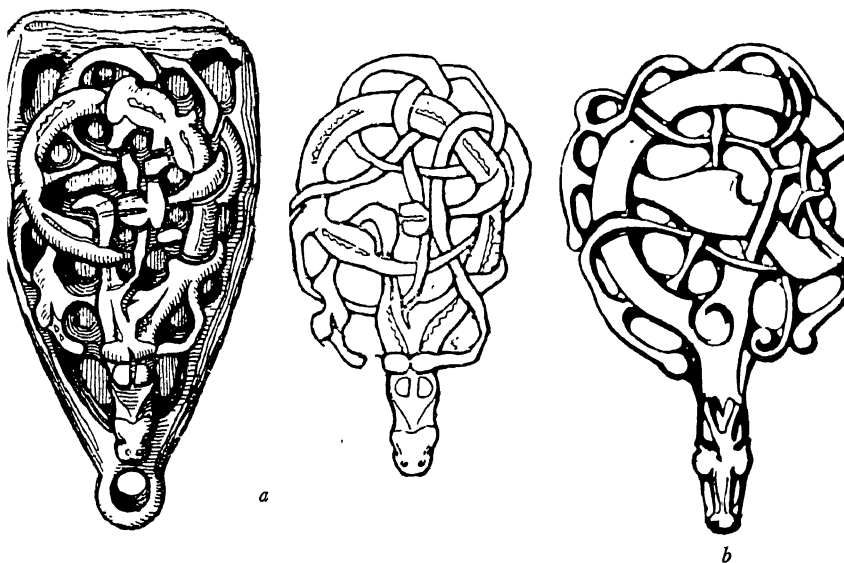


FIG. 19.—*a*, bronze book-clasp, with detail, Lincoln. L. 2·4 in. *b*, bronze ornament, Ireland. L. 1·8 in.

from Sittingbourne, Kent. It is not easy to say where these objects were made, as they are all of them inconsiderable trifles that may have travelled long distances; but there is a probability that the book-clasps, which are poor things, are east English copies of Irish work (Fig. 19), and that the Wisbech (Pl. LXXXII, 1) and Colchester ornaments are either Scandinavian or Anglian copies of Scandinavian bronzes. The Pitney brooch (Pl. LXXXII, 2) I take to be either Irish or Anglo-Irish. As regards the book-clasps, there is an Irish example of the original type of ornament in the British Museum (Fig. 19, *b*),

and as for the Pitney brooch it is difficult to ignore the similarity between the serpent's head lying across the Great Beast's neck with the serpent's head in the same position on the triangular end-plaques of St. Manchan's shrine. I do not, however, want to make too much of these tentative attributions, for the truth is that these six pieces are simply casual finds illustrating what may be described as a generalized and international Urnes manner, and they do not have any significant bearing on the real English Urnes style.

Before we come to this, there are two other small metal-work objects found in this country that deserve mention. One is a bronze stirrup from Mottisfont, Hants,<sup>1</sup> and the other a narrow copper casting from London in the British Museum. The stirrup bore an inlaid silver design of two animals vaguely belonging to the Ardre-stone type of beast, and undoubtedly an import representing the Swedish runestone style; but the copper object (Pl. LXIX, 2), which is of unknown use, may well be London work. It has the Ringerike fleur-de-lys knot at the end, of the same order as the designs on the upper corners of the St. Paul's grave-stone, and in the rectangular panel on the main length of the plaque is a design that is presumably an S-shaped beast embellished with some fine Ringerike tendrils. The treatment of these, which may be likened to the tuft of tendrils on the shoulders of the Bearnan Cuilleán shrine, suggest the transition to Urnes, and we know, of course, that the S-shaped beast belongs to the Urnes school of design and not to true Ringerike work. The little mount is, in fact, a cross between the two styles, and the pattern it bears is best explained as the Great Beast of the St. Paul's grave-stone turning itself into an Urnes design as the result of his drastic confinement to his narrow cage on this strip of metal. This must be stressed because it corroborates the point we have already made, namely that outside Scandinavia the Urnes style is not only a travelling pattern, but a period manner that experiments with and transforms existing patterns. We have to bear this in mind when we consider the English Urnes antiquities that are now going to be described.

During excavations made in 1874 on the site of the demolished Chapter House of Durham Cathedral, the tomb of Ranulf Flambard was discovered. This man, the greedy and

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia* L (1887), p. 533.

unscrupulous chief minister of William II, died in 1128 after having spent the last twenty-five or so years of his life in residence as Bishop of Durham, and his memory is honoured in the diocese for his devoted service to the See and to the Cathedral, of which he was one of the great builders. In his tomb was a gold finger-ring set with a sapphire and the iron crook and ferrule of a crosier that had had a wooden shaft. The crosier-head (Pl. LXXXIII, 1) is silver-plated and is decorated with a design (Fig. 20) done in niello-inlay that unquestionably belongs to the Urnes school of the second runestone style, and as the shafts of Viking iron spear-heads are commonly decorated in the same manner, a first impression must naturally suggest that a Viking smith made Flambard's crosier and that a Viking artist designed the pattern on it. This, however, is not the case, and though it is no doubt true that the crosier was made in a smithy where the tradition of Viking craftsmanship was still in active operation, the fact remains that the pattern on this English crosier cannot be matched in Scandinavian, or for that matter in Irish, metal-work. It is really a zoomorphic ribbon-pattern of pretty invention and considerable charm, and it is distinguished by an emphatic and tight-drawn little terminal knot and a filled-in loop from which a tendril springs. These details are not a part of normal Scandinavian Urnes design, for in the Viking lands the filled-in loop seems to be unknown, and the terminal knot is only very occasionally suggested by open interlace details at the end of a limb, as for instance on the Simris stone; but in England both details are the accustomed embellishments of barbaric ornament and are to be found frequently in the initials of our tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts. On this evidence we must recognize a distinct 'English Urnes', and since the style was fashionable enough to adorn the crosier of a very important and powerful Norman bishop, just as 'Irish Urnes' was used to decorate the crosiers of the Irish bishops, we must further agree that it was a by no means negligible factor in the art of this country round about the year 1100.

In the Guildhall Museum there are three pieces of the silver casing of a staff, possibly of a crosier, though of this we cannot be certain, that were found in London and are probably part of a treasure of English eleventh-century coins, the latest being those of King Harald II. These fragments bear a design

(Fig. 20) in which spirited beasts of the international Urnes type are recognizable, but once again we find the English terminal knots, and there is little doubt that the sheath was made and decorated in this country by an English craftsman.

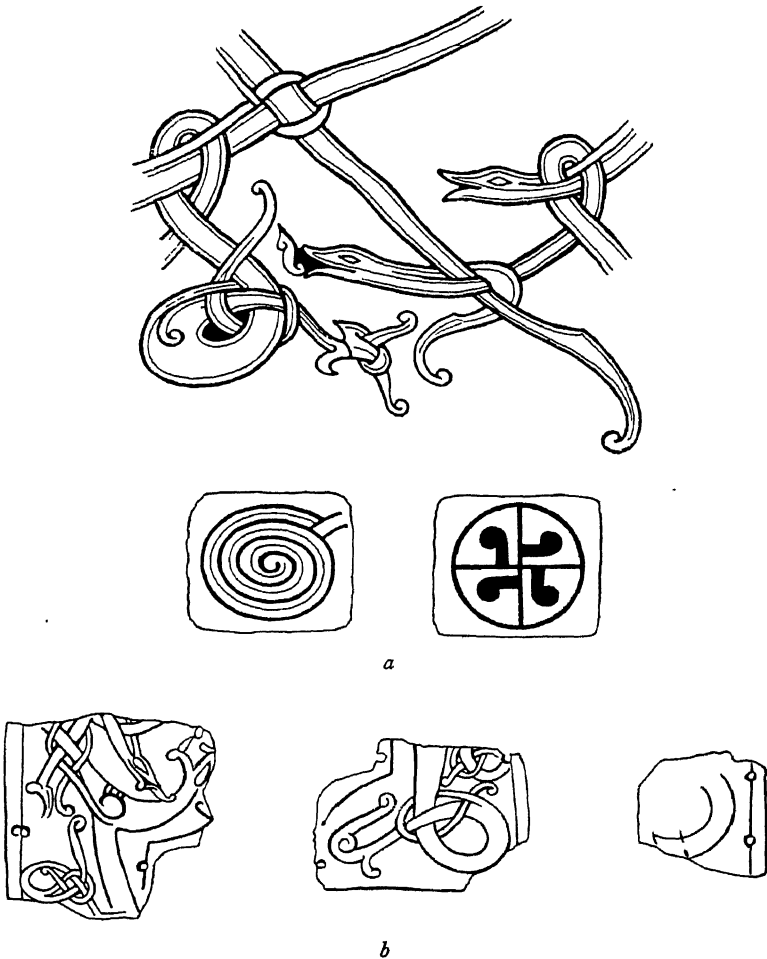


FIG. 20.—Details, *a*, Flambard's crosier : *b*, silver mount, Guildhall Museum

Thus there is evidence from both the north and the south of the country of the popularity of the style for the embellishment of costly objects, and we may reasonably expect to find that Urnes ornament did appreciably affect English art of the period.

It occurs, for instance, in the form of a light and elegant tracery on the capitals of the exterior windows of the south wall of Kirkburn church (Pl. LXXXIV) in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and this appearance of the Urnes style in the sculptured ornament of an eleventh-century Northumbrian church shows that its lively graces were by no means the monopoly of designers in the metalworkers' shops. On the contrary, Urnes work occurs on stone monuments not only here in the north, but also in southern England where there is a very remarkable instance of the Urnes style that has not been sufficiently studied. This is the carving built into the north wall of the nave of the church at Jevington in Sussex (Pl. LXXXV). It is a panel 3 feet in length bearing an excessively solid and simple representation of Christ, who is shown triumphing over the beasts. The figure is in relief  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep, and it belongs to the substantial rustic style of sculpture of the midland and southern schools that can be seen after the Conquest in many twelfth-century tympana and fonts, and in sculptures like those at Daglingworth (p. 50). By itself it would not demand attention here; but it is in fact a carving of really very great interest because the two beasts at the feet of Christ are done in the Urnes style. The one on the left, whose form is partly controlled by the relief of the staff, has a head and forequarters that might be described as ordinary solid work in the Romanesque manner; but even this part of him belongs to the Urnes sphere of influence for the head with the huge eye may be compared with that of the terminal of the crook of the Aghadoe crosier, and the creature finishes in a typical Urnes interlace made up of tail and hind leg; and the second beast is simply a flat ribbon-style Urnes design of a narrow contoured animal dissolved in the twists and loops of its own body. The extravagantly grotesque beast of the matured 'snake' Urnes style was therefore deemed an intelligible symbol of the animal form that could without incongruity be paraded before Englishmen in Sussex as the companion of a figure of Christ which, though stylized, was in the Romanesque tradition. Now the date, as we know, must be post-Conquest, probably about 1100, and it was most remarkable that the great tradition of English barbaric animal-ornament should still be of such dominating power that it was able to intrude as an acceptable and pleasing element into a carving of this kind. The reason

seems to be simple, and it is that no one had found a better way of representing animals. If you try to match the Christ-style at Jevington with an animal from a Late Saxon carving or an early post-Conquest font or tympanum that looks like native work, you will find nothing but the most gauche and blundering creatures to set at the feet of Our Lord, either poor derivatives of Saxon Romanesque or clumsy work imitating the new French styles. At the period of the Jevington carving the Romanesque winged dragon and the Romanesque lion had not yet become generally established as leading animal-subjects, the inventive minds of the English sculptors had not yet elaborated an attractive insular system out of the Norman themes, and therefore in the sculpture we are studying a traditional barbaric beast was still the best kind of beast the Englishman knew. Nothing more plainly reveals the difficulties attending the development of provincial Romanesque styles in England.

This makes it easier to understand the obvious traces of Urnes influence in the well-known tympana at Southwell and Hoveringham, Notts. The Southwell carving (Pl. LXXXVI) has been re-used in antiquity as a lintel over a doorway in the early twelfth-century wall of the north transept of the Minster, and this makes it improbable, to say the least, that the tympanum is later than the middle of the eleventh century. In the centre is St. Michael, with drilled eyes, fighting the dragon, which occupies the right half of the carving, and on the left is a David and the Lion group. The work is Saxon, though probably based on some ambitious Romanesque design of a foreign order; but both the lion and the dragon have Urnes 'lips', and the dragon whose forequarters are fashionably medieval, turns into an S-shaped ribbon-pattern beast that dissolves into a series of major and lesser Urnes loops. The very curious carving on the under-edge of the tympanum shows a length of twisted rod, between formal foliate mouldings, that finishes in a crutch-end ornament with a curling terminal, after which come two parallel strips of ornament, independent of each other, one a run of interlace and one a foliate scroll. This elaborate mixture of independent interlaces and scrolls set side by side is not unknown on the late Northumbrian carvings—there is a good example for instance on one of the hogbacks of the Giant's Grave at Penrith <sup>1</sup> where, as at Southwell, the interlace has an

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, Fig. 189, top.

untied end; but what is surprising in the Southwell scroll is the character of the leaves which must be derived from some Romanesque source that is not the ancient art of the crosses. The Hoveringham tympanum,<sup>1</sup> set over the north doorway of the church, has a St. Michael and the Dragon scene as the main subject, and here the dragon not only turns into an Urnes design, but does so with considerably less austerity than at Southwell, for the pattern has Ringerike foliate details and includes the Great Beast's foe, the serpent, here shown as an auxiliary combatant advancing from the convolutions of the dragon's tail to assist in the fight with the Archangel. On the lintel beneath this tympanum is a ribbon-design of interlacing animals done in an uncompromising Urnes way. Both carvings illustrate the point made in connexion with the Jevington sculpture, for we see at once that the barbaric animal was obviously done with greater zest than the straight-forward Romanesque creature, and the result is that these dragons dominate the compositions in which they appear, for they are invested with an authentic barbaric power and are menacing supernatural horrors of convincing strength and dramatic grandeur. In contrast to them the Southwell lion and the Hoveringham Agnus Dei are miserable spiritless things, just clumsy copies of conventional symbols; we feel that they did not really interest the Saxon sculptor; but a dragon with a thrashing angry tail was a most congenial and familiar subject for which a splendid and traditional vehicle was at hand in the form of the long-practised barbaric animal-ornament. So here again the Urnes style prevailed, and we have an illustration of its English function as an approved survival of the magnificent zoomorphic patterns of the old order.

Nevertheless, in the long run the Continental Romanesque style prevailed, and such lively works as these Nottinghamshire dragons were, no doubt, soon out of fashion; for in the main body of our twelfth-century rustic sculpture we see only very rare survivals of Urnes design in the form of dragons with boldly knotted tails, as in the tympanum at Ipstones, Staffs,<sup>2</sup> the capital on the north side of the chancel arch in Castor church, Northants, which was carved about 1124, or in some of

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Art before the Conquest*. Oxford, 1930. Pl. 59, b.

<sup>2</sup> Keyser, *Norman Tympana*, Fig. 47.

the creatures on the orders of the arch at Bradbourne, Derby. A transitional form, a kind of sub-Urnes design, is provided by the Saxon carving of St. Michael and the Dragon (Pl. LXXXVII) in the church of St. Nicholas, Ipswich, where the dragon, still possessed of a truly barbaric ferocity, has the Anglo-Scandinavian spiral joint and a boldly interlacing tail with something of the Urnes spirit in it. Once again we see in this and the other two carvings in the same church that the human figure, attempting an orthodox Romanesque seriousness, is comparatively lifeless and unsuccessful, whereas the surviving Urnes inspiration has invested the animals with monstrous vigour and power. To measure this we have only to look at one of the adjacent carvings, the small but most impressive tympanum entirely occupied with the huge figure of a boar (Pl. LXXXVII). It is a real barbaric wonder, and complete with a full apparatus of barbaric details such as joint-spirals, a crested back, and the extravagantly mannered Urnes mouth.

A last appearance of the Urnes style in England is to be seen on the small length of a cross-shaft (Pl. LXXXVIII) in the church at West Marton near Skipton that is believed to have come originally from Knaresborough.<sup>1</sup> It deserves mention less because of its connexion with the subject of this chapter than because of its own interest as an Anglian cross. The fragment is only 22½ inches high and the carving on it is bruised and partly obliterated; but there is enough to show that the cross had a clean-cut rectangular section and was decorated with a foliate scroll that winds itself round the four faces unbroken by the frames of panels or cabled arrises. This alone distinguishes the monument from all other English crosses; but it is further remarkable for the reason that the scroll is of a kind not known on any other cross. It grows in bold contoured bands horizontally rather than vertically, and it contains figures of men and of a winged dragon. Only one of the human figures can be seen (Pl. LXXXVIII, 2, top), and this is a slim person with vigorously outstretched arms who is so much at home in the scroll he inhabits that one of his legs penetrates in the Saxon fashion the ribbon-like stem between his feet. If we make allowances for a certain stiffness in this somewhat inexpert sculpture, we are left in no doubt that this West Marton scroll-climber belongs to the family of the

<sup>1</sup> *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, XXIII (1915), p. 176.

athletes who climb so vigorously in the scrolls of ivories like the tau-cross (Pl. LXXXIX, 1), on which is also the winged dragon, and the little St. Albans panel in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> both English works attributed to the first half of the twelfth century. This 'Hildesheim' scroll, as we have called it (p. 21), was frequently employed by the Durham school of illuminators in manuscripts of the last two decades of the century.<sup>2</sup> The ivories match these manuscripts well, and the addition to these examples of a sculptured Northumbrian cross is of some importance, because Mr. H. P. Mitchell claimed a northern origin for the ivories on the grounds of their likeness to the Durham work.<sup>3</sup>

We are not, however, primarily concerned here with the English interest of the West Marton carving, but with the fact that in certain passages the scroll upon it has to an appreciable degree an Urnes character, which is best seen where the volutes loosen and are less crowded and coil in the typically handsome Urnes way with plenty of space behind them. This means that the carving must be of roughly the same date as the other sculptures showing a similar influence, that is about the year 1100.

The West Marton cross is a monument *sui generis*, though it reflects the fashion of the Durham school of the time of Bishop Carilef, and we must ask if the Urnes style influenced any of the more ordinary Northumbrian sculptures. The truth is that there is very little to be seen of it, the reason of course being that Urnes ornament in England enjoyed a vogue under distinguished Norman patronage and was therefore unlikely to have much to do with the now dying art of the crosses. It does, however, occur on four native monuments, and of these the most important is at Durham itself, namely the Chapter House cross-head No. 22 (Pl. XLIII, 2) in the Cathedral Library, one of a group of carvings that can be dated within the years 995 and 1083. This bears a lion-and-serpent combat that is easily the most fluent, balanced, and attractive design in the jumble of clumsy figures that crowd together upon the

<sup>1</sup> M. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Durham MS. B. III. 10, f. 1; also B. II. 17 and B. II. 13. Also British Museum, Royal 6 B. VII. For the winged creature see Durham B. II. 35.

<sup>3</sup> p. 45 here, n. 4.

two best-known crossheads in the series, and it is obvious that the convolutions of the beast's hind leg and the serpent's tail are in the form of a graceful Urnes detail. Elsewhere in the Danish area the only cross that has Urnes decoration is at Hawsker near Whitby, where there is a late monument, a round-shaft derivative of *c.* 1050, that has on one face an uninterrupted length of Urnes interlace, now very difficult to make out but apparently consisting of a beast with a long undulating body that is entwined in the coils of a serpent.<sup>1</sup> In a thick coarsened form Urnes ornament is also to be seen in the Anglo-Norse area at Gosforth in Cumberland, where there are two examples of it. One is on the hog-back known as

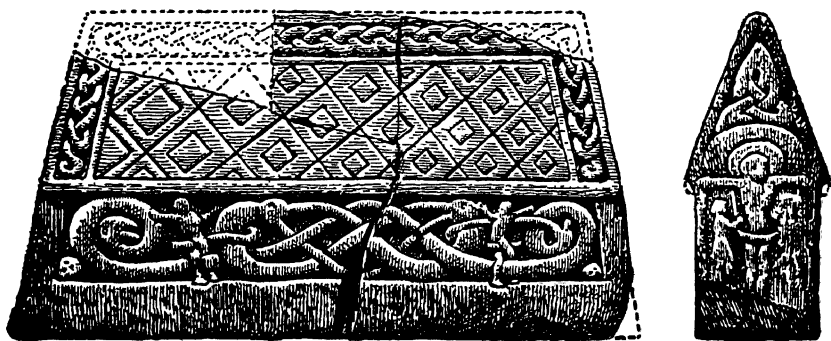


FIG. 21.—Saint's Tomb, Gosforth, Cumberland. L. 5 ft.

the Saint's Tomb (Fig. 21), which has a pattern of ribbon-pattern animals expressed in generous easy-flowing curves of the true Urnes kind, but in this instance containing two enmeshed human figures recalling the Jellinge manner of neighbouring works such as the Kirkby Stephen 'bound devil';<sup>2</sup> the second Gosforth example is in the upper panel of the 'fishing stone' (Pl. XC) where there is a beast-and-serpent combat that has an unmistakable Urnes character in the lower portion of the design. But the fact is, of course, that both in the Dane-law and in Cumberland, the Urnes style made no significant impression on the main series of the late Northumbrian crosses.

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the eastern cross of the Giant's Grave, Penrith (Collingwood, Fig. 120) and the Great Clifton cross (Collingwood, Fig. 186), both in Cumberland.

We have now reviewed the evidence briefly. As we have seen, the Urnes style has three main flowerings, in Scandinavia, in Ireland, and in England; but Scandinavian Urnes is the most important, and there can be little doubt that the style is Scandinavian in origin. Gradually developing in Sweden in the early eleventh century out of its Jellinge and Ringerike beginnings, it probably acquired its distinctively mannered graces by the middle of the century, and to some extent it may have influenced English art before the Conquest; but on the west side of the North Sea its vogue is mainly a fashion of c. 1100. This is, of course, an event that needs some explanation, for neither in Ireland after Clontarf (1014) nor in England after the Conquest do we expect a Scandinavian taste to make a significant intrusion into native art; yet we know that Urnes found favour in the monastery of Clonmacnoise, at the court of Turlough O'Connor, and in the precincts of a Norman bishop's cathedral. Its successful expansion, therefore, which cannot be ascribed to the political ascendancy of the Viking people or to the success of their arms, must be attributed to the fact that the Urnes style as achieved in Scandinavia was accepted overseas as a Christian style, the common property of Christian societies in that northern area of Europe which had been temporarily united into one cultural province by the Scandinavian civilization, and was still, even after Clontarf and Hastings, loosely held together by surviving Scandinavian colonists, and, above all, by the journeys of bishops and clergy across the North Sea. Indeed, the problem of the contacts presents no mysteries; for the eleventh century was the time of the first thorough organization of Scandinavian Christianity which is known to have involved a wholesale recruitment of priests from these islands.<sup>1</sup> What is much more puzzling is that a barbaric art of the newly converted Scandinavia should have prevailed in England and Ireland at this late date against the advancing tide of continental Romanesque art. The answer must lie in the astonishing and cunning excellence of the Urnes style itself, which in Ireland must have at once attracted notice as a superior handling of the vernacular Christian art, and in England could likewise find favour as a continuation of the traditional Hiberno-Saxon art propagated at a time when the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom (1013-42)

<sup>1</sup> H. G. Leach, *Angvin Britain and Scandinavia*. Harvard, 1921. pp. 73 ff.

founded by Svein and Cnut had broken down the ancient prejudice against Viking art as a heathen and enemy thing. If we consider the case of Durham, where the Urnes style took root, we find we are dealing with a Saxon monastic society that was not established in that place before 995; but it had come there from Chester-le-Street and was in fact a society that for over three hundred years in spite of the utmost disaster and hardship had treasured and kept alive the authentic art of Lindisfarne which was the monastery's birthplace. It is not really remarkable, therefore, that before the Conquest, perhaps in the reign of Cnut (d. 1035) or of Harald I or Harthacnut, the then unbroken bond between England and Scandinavia should be reflected in the modest Urnes detail of one of the sculptures of this Anglo-Saxon community; nor is there any reason why after the Conquest in the period of the Norman bishops the native taste should not have continued to exploit a congenial and spirited barbaric ornament of Christian Scandinavia that in northern eyes was unequalled in attractiveness by any imported Norman decorative motive and was not barred from use by racial or religious prejudice or the disfavour of the Normans. The point then is that the Urnes taste did not run counter to an official propagation of sober Romanesque patterns, but was at hand to supply for a while something that made good the deficiencies of the Romanesque style. In other words it was able to provide from now respectable Christian sources overseas ingenious and intricate animal-patterns for a folk who had for several centuries most devotedly loved such designs. The Urnes style, accordingly, must not be interpreted as evidence of rebel and alien influence, any more than the barbaric initials of English pre-Conquest illumination are to be taken as evidence of significant revolt against the sober Romanesque strivings of the main figural art of their school. Urnes design in this country is simply a permissible background of northern taste, and it may be said to differ from the Jellinge and Ringerike styles in that whereas these were distinctively and nationally Viking, Urnes was in its limited world an international and orthodox Christian art.

### XIII

#### THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND AFTER: MANUSCRIPTS

THE account that has just been given of the Urnes style has taken us long past the date of the Norman Conquest, and now we return to 1066. Nobody believes that the Normans tried to put an end to the native art of the Anglo-Saxons as represented by the Winchester manuscripts. It was, in fact, already European in its main aspects, and, though it had its own distinctive insular character, it was universally recognizable as an orthodox constituent of the international art of Western Christendom. Edward the Confessor, the 'Norman Monk', who had brought Robert of Jumièges to England, to be, first, Bishop of London and, afterwards, Archbishop of Canterbury, had probably taken pride in the fact that Saxon illumination counted as part of the main European corpus of Romanesque art. William the Conqueror, therefore, could hardly have seen anything antagonistically national in the English style, and there is no reason to suppose that the monarch himself, or the Norman clergy to whom he gave the principal offices of the English Church, found it necessary to demand the suppression of the practised and peculiar Saxon manner in painting and drawing. On the contrary, there are two quite important pieces of evidence that the Normans were prepared to accept English art as their own. One is the Bayeux tapestry, and the other is the illumination of the books carried out at Durham during the episcopacy of the second Norman bishop of the See, William Carilef.

The tapestry (Pls. XCI, XCII) was probably made for Bishop Odo, the brother of the Conqueror, about 1077, and it was intended for the pleasure and instruction of the Normans themselves. It is an embroidery in coloured wools on a linen scroll over 230 feet in length and just under 20 inches in breadth. The subject is the story of the Conquest, and the work is, I venture to say, certainly English. To most inquirers this would seem to be proved by the fact that the Latin inscriptions

on the tapestry include Anglo-Saxon forms;<sup>1</sup> but what seems to be an even more compelling reason for attributing it to English needlewomen is the character of the drawing, for this is very nearly as certainly Saxon as any in an accredited Winchester manuscript. We shall refer to this point in a moment. Immediately, let us recall that William of Poitiers, chaplain to King William, referring to the Conqueror's gifts sent from England to the Norman churches, gifts which he said would astonish even the craftsman of the East, went out of his way to pay a tribute to English women whom he describes as very skilled with the needle in the same way as the English men excelled in every art; and we know also that the English embroideresses worked for the Conqueror himself and his queen; furthermore, we know that they were practised in the making of ambitious narrative tapestries, for Ely had one recalling the Battle of Maldon (991) that was embroidered by the widow of Brihtnoth, the Earl of the East Saxons who fell in that famous fight.<sup>2</sup>

As a reason for saying that the drawing is English, it is not sufficient to say that the personages of the drama are magnificently animated, and that they stoop and stretch and point in an extravagant fashion that recalls the style of some of the Winchester manuscripts. This lively acting of the persons in the tapestry is in origin simply the style of the Utrecht Psalter (p. 12), that is to say it reflects the 'Rheims' vigour of posture and movement, and in this respect it could, of course, be entirely of Continental origin. Nevertheless, it probably is not. We may say this in the first place because the real 'Bayeux' style is unknown in Normandy before 1066, nor does it occur anywhere in France. Of course, as concerns Normandy, this is rather too easy a point, as there are no important illuminated manuscripts of the Conquest period from the Duchy; but, generally, French work of the age is not entirely unknown to us, and there is a group of manuscripts in the Amiens, St. Omer, and Arras districts of north-eastern France that ought to give us a hint, if it were in fact the case, that the Bayeux

<sup>1</sup> e.g. 'at Hestinga' and 'ceastra'. For a bibliography of the tapestry see Sir Eric Maclagan's *The Bayeux Tapestry*, King Penguin Books, 1943; cf. also the Victoria and Albert Museum *Guide to the Bayeux Tapestry*, 3rd ed., 1931. Note also an important article on the dating of the tapestry and its attribution by R. S. Loomis, *Art Bulletin*, VI (1923), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The sources for these statements are quoted by R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 7.

tapestry style was of French origin. Yet in spite of their marked English characteristics they do not suggest anything of the sort; nor do we find any Continental manuscripts that suggest themselves as an adequate foreign background for the tapestry style. It had been suggested that the group of manuscripts from southern France and Spain associated with the commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse give some indication that the art of the tapestry grew up outside England, but though these narratives do sometimes approach in form the Bayeux type of decoration, the strip-narrative of violently expressed events with explanatory inscriptions, yet it may be said with some emphasis that the Beatus manuscripts have nothing whatever to do with the Bayeux manner of drawing.<sup>1</sup> It is quite fair, then, if this be granted, to say there is no proof that the tapestry art is Continental, and no evidence, in particular, that the Normans had achieved anything of the sort on their own. That is why they admired English art so much; that is why the two splendid Saxon manuscripts now at Rouen were sent to Normandy by Robert of Jumièges during the reign of the Confessor.<sup>2</sup>

It is not easy to say why a certain detail of a great design looks like English work, and here we cannot do more than name particular passages in the illustrations that seem to be recognizably Saxon. The acanthus-scroll at the top of Plate XCI, for instance, is elongated small-curl foliage of the English 'Ringerike' type (cf. Pl. LXXIV); the series of lions and birds in the margin of the tapestry include many creatures that might have come straight out of the Trinity Gospels, Ms. B. 10. 4;<sup>3</sup> the groups of men with their thin stalk-like legs (Pl. XCII), who are attending the coronation of Harold and watching the

<sup>1</sup> For the Beatus illuminations see W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der Altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-illustration*. Munster-i-W., 1931. The opening folios 222b-223 (Siege of Jerusalem) in the British Museum Silos 'Beatus', Add. MSS. 11695, is a good example (c. 1100) of an action scene that may be compared with those on the tapestry; it shows mounted and unmounted warriors in mail hauberks and conical helmets, arrows in flight, exaggeratedly heavy weapons, and so on; but not a vestige of the Bayeux tapestry draughtsmanship.

<sup>2</sup> It is not quite certain that he sent the Missal (Rouen Y. 6) which may have belonged to Archbishop Robert of Rouen; but the significant point is the transference of both manuscripts from England into Normandy.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. f. 57.

comet, recall similar groups of persons with legs like pea-sticks in manuscripts like Junius 11 (Cædmon) in the Bodleian Library<sup>1</sup> and Tiberius C. VI<sup>2</sup> in the British Museum. The agitated and dramatic use of the hands in Plates XCI and XCII should be compared with the hands in the Anglo-Saxon Easter Tables (Pl. XVII) and in the New Minster Register (Pl. XVIII);<sup>3</sup> the face of the Confessor (Pl. XCI, top) is English;<sup>4</sup> the neck and chin of the messenger (Pl. XCI, bottom) is bound to remind us of Saxon sketches like the marginal drawing in Bodley MS. 718 (Pl. XIX, 2).

These comparisons between details are never very convincing and much more important is the indefinable Saxon character of the general style of the tapestry. This is something that must be felt—or denied—only after a laborious examination of Saxon and foreign illuminations. Here we must be content with the observation that it must not be held against an English origin of the Bayeux tapestry that the tunics and the mantles of the actors do not show the crumpled fluttering edges so common in Winchester drawing. To have introduced these airy frills would have been a most laborious and unsuitable complication of an already extremely ambitious undertaking in a medium not conspicuously suitable for the recording of the light, trembling edges that the draughtsman loved; and, of course, the Saxon artist had already shown that upon occasion he could do without them. Even in the finer ecclesiastical manuscripts the sombre stiff-robed style of the tenth century 'Athelstan' paintings (Pl. XXXIII) had never wholly disappeared, as we see by the example of St. Stephen in the Hereford Troper (Pl. XXII); further in the scientific works, for instance in the Calendar pictures of Tiberius B.V. and elsewhere in the same manuscript, and in Ælfric's Pentateuch (Pl. XXIV, 4), there is a very definite tendency to cut the frills and to simplify the outlines of the clothing.

Now let us turn to the evidence of the manuscripts, for this seems to support the view we have taken here of the Bayeux tapestry as English work done for Norman patrons. We begin with the books of William Carilef (d. 1096), the second Norman bishop of Durham. There is nothing known about this man

<sup>1</sup> e.g. f. 57.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. ff. 8b, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Especially f. 6b, not illustrated here.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. St. Luke, Copenhagen Gospels, and St. Luke in Pembroke 302.

to suggest that he had any particular admiration for the Saxons or their art, and, indeed, his chief activity from the point of view of our present interests is that he destroyed the Saxon cathedral of Durham and built a magnificent and quite different Norman structure in its place. Indeed, he seems to have gone out of his way to have made continuity between pre-Conquest and post-Conquest art extremely difficult in his See, because after his consecration in 1081 he began almost immediately to plan the expulsion of the English secular canons, and in 1083 he did get rid of them, replacing them by Benedictine monks. This, however, was a religious reform, and Carilef was not inspired by racial antagonism. The new monks were most of them Englishmen, the followers of the West Saxon, Aldwin of Winchcombe, who had gone to Northumbria to revive the monastic foundations of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow; and the point to be made here is that Carilef's books represent the art of these English monks, and not some strange and foreign thing specially imported to please the taste of the Norman bishop. He bequeathed fifty books to his Cathedral church of which many still survive at Durham, and of these the principal illuminated manuscripts were written for him at Durham itself. They are, therefore, documents of importance, for they are the most significant eleventh-century illuminated manuscripts of the post-Conquest period, and we find, as has been said, that they are not memorials of some newly imported art, like Carilef's Cathedral, but work that in the main is English and in the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

One of these manuscripts (B. 11. 13) contains a picture of Carilef himself. The work is a part of St. Augustine's Commentary on the Psalter, and the initials illustrated (Pl. XCIII) can be dated before 1088 because they come from the second volume which is earlier than the Bishop's exile (1088-93), the time when the third volume was written. The initials at the beginning of each psalm-commentary are the only ornaments and they are very simply coloured, principally in dull unshaded reds and greens and blues and yellows. The paragraph dealing with Psalm lx (f. 102) has at its head the initial containing the full-length figure of the Bishop, *Willelmus episcopus*, with the bust of Christ above him, and, below, a kneeling monk, the illuminator, whose name, Robert Benjamin, is inscribed in the scroll that he is holding. In the surrounding margins of

the letter are prayers for the bishop and this artist, the second man in the history of painting in England whom we know by name.

It is not a very promising name, for 'Robert', of course, sounds Norman; but it does not necessarily follow that he was a foreigner. His contemporary, Robert the Martyr (d. 1103), was an Englishman, the son of Godwine of Winchester, and, judging by the style of his work, Robert Benjamin may have been English too. If he was a Norman, we can feel certain that he had been trained in an English school of illumination, because the figure-composition of this initial is plainly in the Saxon manner. It is not pure Winchester, for the style is largely based on that rather strange and strained Continental manner that was first manifested in this country before the Conquest in the remarkable British Museum Psalter, Arundel 60. This German character is specially observable in Carilef's face, which has a very curious eyebrow line with a pronounced U at the top of the nose, and also prominent complexion spots; it is also evident in the plainly marked sinews of the neck.<sup>1</sup> But what is not foreign, but recognizably English, is the lightness and the slim elegance of the body of the bishop. This is real Winchester Saxon,<sup>2</sup> and it is pleasing to see how the new rigidity that is now beginning to turn English drawing into a hard Romanesque style is still softened here by the Anglo-Saxon detail of the sudden foamy frills of the skirt.

Quite apart from the figure-style, which is to a considerable extent a matter for personal judgement, there is direct proof of continuity between this Durham work and that of the pre-Conquest Saxon manuscripts; for among the numerous initials in Carilef's *St. Augustine* are several that are plainly descended from the Anglo-Saxon 'barbaric' initials that were described in Chapter III. To see that this is so, compare the letter I in Carilef's book (Pl. XCIII, right) with the various initials on Plates XXX-XXXII, and note also that the head of the Carilef I is taken from the uprights of the grander Winchester initials (cf. Pls. XXVII and LXXIV). It really cannot be disputed that the type, ornamental system, and style of the

<sup>1</sup> For the general type on the Continent, see A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II, Pl. 86 (a Cologne manuscript of the first half of the eleventh century).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bodleian, Douce 296, f. 40; Vatican Reg. Lat. 12, f. 22.

Saxon initial was still in vogue in Norman Durham in the age of Carilef, and we may shorten the matter by adding that Mr. Wormald has shown that similar initials of purely Saxon parentage were still being drawn in the Norman monasteries of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence of continuity is no less plain in the great Durham manuscript known as Carilef's Bible (MS. A. 11. 4) in which are to be seen a number of details that are of Winchester origin; for example the great initial (Pl. XCIV) of the *Beatus Vir* psalm (f. 65) is, in general, the descendant of all the great Saxon 'Beatus' initials, and, in particular, of that Germanic version of the same theme contained in the *Psalter Arundel* 60 (Pl. XXVII, 3). The Durham style during Carilef's episcopacy is, in short, good English work with evidences of traditional Saxon motives; but its Saxon character, these details apart, is founded in the main upon that final Winchester style that had been itself to a certain extent transformed by west German influence. In other words, it is a style built upon the new and foreign Romanesque manner that so noticeably altered the Saxon manner in the middle of the eleventh century, and there is a very strong emphasis on that type of design introduced into English art by *Arundel* 60, the very lively person or animal climbing or contorting himself with the violence of a gymnast among the branches of the *acanthus*-scroll (cf. Pl. LXXXIX, 2); the Carilef books present us, in fact, with a recognizable Durham style in the history of English art, a style that is not by any means identical with the work of a Saxon school, though it is in a near degree allied to Saxon illumination, and is an indubitable continuation of it.

In the early twelfth century there is, of course, a further alteration in style, but not one that is an immediate and revolutionary change into the grandeur of our perfected Romanesque art; we find, in fact, manuscripts that are still only gradually moving away from the 'Carilef' stage in the transition from the pre-Conquest illumination of the Saxons to the style of the great 'Winchester Bible' a century after the Conquest. At Durham itself there is a work, MS. Hunter 100, dealing with medicine and astronomy that was probably written in the episcopacy of Carilef's successor, Ranulf Flambard (d. 1128),

<sup>1</sup> The evidence on this whole subject, with a wealth of illustrations, has been set forth by Mr. Wormald in his *Archæologia* paper (loc. cit., p. 37 here).

and this is illustrated by swift, vivid little drawings that might easily be mistaken for Saxon sketches of a hundred years earlier. Similar survivals are found in the south of England too; Mr. Wormald has pointed out the unmistakable Saxon style of some of the drawings in the beautiful Canterbury 'Lives of the Saints' (British Museum MS. Arundel 91), a manuscript of c. 1100, and he has cited various other instances of the continued Saxon tradition in the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

The principal change in the first half of the twelfth century<sup>2</sup> is that the artist began more generally and more deliberately to give his work what was for England a new sense of dignity and rigidity, the chilly stateliness of the most familiar kind of Byzantine art. This hieratic solemnity is a very important new element in English art; it is, in fact, the foundation upon which the grandest achievements of our twelfth-century Romanesque paintings and sculptures are built; but it was not the only contribution that Byzantine art could make, for the racy impressionist style of painting pictures full of swiftly moving and excited peoples was still a potent influence. Just as this Hellenistic impressionism, as seen in the Utrecht Psalter and the Rheims manuscripts, had altered the development of English art in the tenth century, so in the twelfth century Byzantine art was still able to exert a similar invigorating force, and the result of it is unmistakably revealed in the 'Albani' Psalter at Hildesheim, St. Albans work of about 1130. It is the work of more than one artist, but in all the principal full-page illustrations we find the Byzantine 'animated' style, here expressed by very tall and very thin personages with sloping shoulders and wild agitated countenances that act their parts with vigorous but wooden gestures.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to look at one of the early illuminations in the changed style of the twelfth century, and an example is Plate XCV, 1, a page in a Psalter made, it is not known where, for a nun of St. Edward's Abbey, Shaftesbury (British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 383), a manuscript of c. 1130 that

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, 91, 1945, p. 128, and *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXX, 1944, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> See Francis Wormald, 'The Development of English Illumination in the Twelfth Century', *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 38. VIII (1943), p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> I have not seen this manuscript, but I think Saxon influence will be recognized in some of the initials of the Psalms, that for Psalms xxxi and xlviii, for instance; see A. Goldschmidt, *Der Albani Psalter in Hildesheim*, Berlin, 1895. pp. 98, 103.

is very closely connected with the Albani Psalter in style, so much so that some folios are either copies of pages in the Albani book, or come from a common source. In the illumination of the manuscript it will be seen that there is at once a new darkness and a new brightness in the picture, a new airless use of apple-green and deep-toned blues and brick red, and also a considerable increase in the monumental quality of the figures. This impression of a suddenly stiffened style strikes us first; yet in spite of this change the personages still possess a kind of frozen animation, as though the humanity and warmth of the Hellenistic painting was on the point of stirring into life the glassy stillness of the Romanesque composition. To all this we can add, I think, draughtsmanship of Saxon inspiration. In the illustrated folio the slender figure of God has Saxon proportions and a Saxon tenderness of stoop and gesture; His garments are broken into brightly marked folds and creases that relieve the sombre colouring of the main design, and there is that remarkable lightness of poise, that sense of the floating figure which seems to be so manifestly a sign of Saxon inspiration; and the skirt of the angel Gabriel is still tossed and tormented by the wind that blew so sturdily in the Saxon pictures (cf. Pls. XVII and XX, 1).

There are other manuscripts of the first half of the twelfth century belonging to the early stage of our late Romanesque illumination, but these have been described by Mr. Wormald, and here one drawing of *c.* 1150 will be sufficient to show the continued survival of the Saxon tradition nearly a hundred years after the Conquest. This is an unfinished but most movingly beautiful Crucifixion (Pl. XCV, 2) in a soft vermillion and emerald green that, so Dr. Paecht has proved, replaces an older drawing in the Chronicles belonging to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a manuscript begun in Worcester *c.* 1108 (now in the Bodleian Library, C.C.C. 157, f. 77*a*). If the reader will compare the Harley 2904 Crucifixion (Pl. VIII) and the Arundel 60 Crucifixion (Pl. XXI, 2) with this drawing, he will understand the genesis and spirit of the mid-twelfth-century masterpiece. It is the rich-robed and ornamental Arundel 60 style with its agony of body-lines and its elaborate cross in a rendering that is softened and transformed by the delicate sympathy of the light moving line that makes the Harley 2904 Crucifixion such a wonderful picture. Here in the

Worcester manuscript is the same sense of floating lightness, of quivering surface life, as opposed to three-dimensional and solidly weighted bodily reality, that we have recognized as the all-transcending excellence of Saxon drawing. Note the light, though stilled and frozen, flutter of the Virgin's red veil, the screw of curls in St. John's mantle; the soft graciousness of Our Lord's green loin-cloth, delicately clinging as though it were the finest silk.<sup>1</sup> In the Worcester manuscript, as in Harley 2904 and in the Pontifical at Paris,<sup>2</sup> the dead Christ, a figure of sensitive and loving imagining, does not hang, a pitiful weight, on the cross. Rather is the Saviour, as it were, poised against it, a form focused on the very topmost film of the parchment's surface, a Christ-theme, a Christ-pattern, a jewel and a symbol.

So plainly does this drawing in the Worcester manuscript preserve the authentic genius of Saxon art in the middle of the twelfth century that it is not necessary for me to provide additional proof that the Norman Conquest did not put an end to our native art as expressed in the pre-Conquest illuminated manuscripts. The next question is how long does this Saxon influence persist, and the art historian of the Middle Ages must be prepared to tell us to what extent Saxon art enlivens the later Romanesque manuscripts of this country and what contribution it makes to our Gothic art. To my regret this is a subject that I cannot pursue here, partly because of my present lack of knowledge of the material, and partly because the matter is one of personal judgement that can only be supported by a considerable number of plates that do not really have any business in this book. If I may be allowed to answer very briefly and without the support of the proper pictures, I should say that about 1150 we see the end of what may be called the direct Saxon influence, but certainly not the end of an aesthetic temper that had its origin in Saxon times and survived to inform the later manuscripts with the characteristic graces of Saxon work, that is, vivacity of line, lightness of drawing, brilliant surface play of colours, gracious proportions, and a pervading feel of the thistledown floating.

<sup>1</sup> The illustration does not do justice to the original in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. nat. Lat. 943, a MS. of c. 995; the Crucifixion (f. 4b), a drawing in red and black line with Byzantine hair, is an important forerunner of the Worcester version.

Those who have made themselves familiar with the Saxon manuscripts will, I believe, see this spirit in, among many other works, the Psalter of St. Swithin's Priory, Winchester,<sup>1</sup> of *c.* 1150, in the Guthlac Roll of the late twelfth century from Croyland,<sup>2</sup> in a Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge,<sup>3</sup> of *c.* 1220, in the Amesbury Psalter at All Souls, Oxford,<sup>4</sup> of *c.* 1250, and, I venture to think, in the drawings of Matthew Paris himself.

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Nero C. IV.

<sup>3</sup> MS. B. XI. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Harley Roll Y. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 6.

## XIV

### THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND AFTER: SCULPTURE

THERE is evidence, as we have seen, that the Normans admired the Saxon illuminated manuscripts and embroideries, and it is probable that those who made them suffered no hindrance in their work; but it is unlikely that Saxon sculpture was thought to be of any special significance or merit. By the time of the Conquest the genius of the Northumbrian sculptor was exhausted. In the south there must have been a considerable amount of impressive work like the Bradford-on-Avon carvings and the Breamore Rood; but it was associated with Saxon churches of modest dimensions, and these the Normans despised. What happened, therefore, was that instead of the welcome and the patronage given to the painter and embroideress, who were to know no serious rivals, the Saxon sculptor had to face the formidable and dominating new fact of Norman architecture which at first made almost no use at all of sculptured ornament, and for fifty years or so after the Conquest did no more than admit it grudgingly in a severely regimented system of decoration that was quite foreign to the Saxon taste. Moreover, when a more lavish use of stone carvings was at length introduced, the sculpture that then appears is not connected with the native pre-Conquest works, but has its origin in the tremendous renaissance of sculpture on the Continent that was converted by monastic enthusiasm into a force in the face of which a continued English independence of manner was almost impossible. In short, as regards serious Romanesque sculpture after the Conquest, a new taste prevailed; new styles were introduced to suit buildings of new forms and new grandeur, and I do not think we can say otherwise than that the Saxon schools both in the north and in the south of England came to an end.

We have learnt, however, that the Viking taste, as might be expected in the eastern half of England, survived the Conquest and is expressed in a small number of stone carvings (p. 121). This means that in village churches there may also be some

survivals of a Saxon feeling in simple carvings of a rustic kind, and, though I have no intention of going into this matter with any thoroughness—for it is obviously a subject of a different book—I should like to record my view that in fact there is really very little indeed in our rural post-Conquest sculpture that has a recognizable Saxon character.

Let us consider first the matter of the function and arrangement of ornamental sculpture. The Normans liked their churches to be total compositions in which walls, arcades, pillars, and vaults united to form a majestic and rhythmic whole solidly planted on the ground. To this system and pervading monumental scheme all ornament was strictly subordinated. The carved decoration of Bishop Alexander's three doors (1140-50) in the west façade of Lincoln Cathedral is in sum copiously plentiful and richly spread; but it is strictly systematized and employed simply as a disciplined emphasis of the architectural lines of the doors. We see the same thing on a smaller scale in the Norman fonts and capitals. For instance, in Durham Castle chapel, an early work of *c.* 1070, there are capitals that are quite elaborately carved, though in a somewhat rustic manner, and it will be observed that in spite of the rather humble attainments of the sculptor, the ornament on them is clearly and logically restrained, its salient features being stout volutes that most convincingly 'take the weight' at the corners, or grotesque little men acting as supporters. That was not the Saxon way of doing things, nor, most emphatically, was the ornamental system of the Lincoln doors a Saxon discipline. We are bound to ask, then, if in the post-Conquest period the release of decoration from its Norman bondage, the careless and exuberant spilling of it over its architectural frame, can be accepted as an indication of the continued influence of the Saxon taste.

The answer is that, at any rate by itself, it cannot. Naturally we look for signs of it in the lesser country churches. The beautiful door at Kilpeck (*c.* 1170) in Herefordshire provides a complete contrast to the majestic Lincoln Cathedral doors. Here ornament is applied to arch, abaci, capitals, and shafts with only the dimmest appreciation of architectural propriety; the shafts, indeed, look as though they were loose rolls of complicated openwork tracery in metal or wood, instead of being stiff strong pillars with a closely patterned surface as at

Lincoln. Nowhere is the eye led up and down or along the architectural lines. On the contrary, the decoration sprawls over and across them, very solid and showy, and is obviously ornament done for its own sake and for the great joy of having plenty of it. But there is no evidence of Saxon influence. In fact, the Hereford school carvings are outspokenly un-Saxon because of their weight and solidity and somewhat limp slackness. The work is simply a provincial Anglo-Norman style, and the unrestrained slap-dash use of copious ornament is sufficiently explained by the word 'provincial'. That is to say, Kilpeck represents not, before everything else, an inherited Saxon or Celtic taste, but a local post-Conquest taste expressed at some distance from the main currents of contemporary fashion. As a matter of fact, the pillars at Kilpeck are experiments, with a strong regional accent, in the twelfth-century manuscript and metalwork theme of the climbing man in the scroll (p. 124), and though we know that this had appeared in England before the Conquest (p. 20), it is a pattern that in remote places is not likely to have been part of the Saxon heritage.

The point is that we must not confuse provincialism with a lively traditional influence, even though the results of both are sometimes rather alike. A rustic style in carving is not necessarily a sign of Saxon inspiration. For instance, in pre-Conquest sculpture we find many examples of the reduction of the human figure to the size and proportions of mannikins or dolls. Breedon-on-the-Hill gives us a good example in the ninth century,<sup>1</sup> and there are many others in Late Saxon work, particularly in the Northumbrian crosses (cf. Pl. XLIV, 2). On the Norman tympanum at Bishop's Teignton in Devon and on the Norman font at Toller Fratrum in Dorset we find 'dolls' of the same type; but I do not think anyone would describe either the tympanum or the font as a work showing Saxon influence. Nor does any other extreme simplification in the manner of carving take us back to the art of the crosses. A flat linear style as on the St. Andrew Auckland cross in Co. Durham,<sup>2</sup> and the hard silhouettes as on the St. Alkmund's cross at Derby,<sup>3</sup> are repeated in rustic Norman work, where also we find the very simplest kind of 'primitives', just as in

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. LII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. XCVII.

Saxon sculpture (p. 67). Here there is no bond between the pre-Conquest work and the Norman other than the operation at two different times of the rules of simplification and schematization that could in all the Christian ages turn the art of the cathedral and the palace into the humbler art of the cottage and the little village church.

In looking for Saxon influence we should also hesitate to accept, unsupported by other matters of style, the test of pattern. Of course, this is not to be ruled out completely,<sup>1</sup> but in general it can be said that there is no purely Saxon theme of requisite significance that is unmistakably repeated in full in Norman sculpture, and in speaking thus I have in mind such instances as the scrolls, sometimes said to be of Saxon origin, on the Norman fonts at Porchester and Alington. That, however, which we may profitably examine as a likely indication of the survival of the Saxon style is a rarely observed lightness and buoyancy in the figure-work, and an accompanying surface tracery of sensitive line. Here it is important to notice that the quality concerned comes to Norman sculpture not only from Saxon sculpture, but also from the more influential art expressed so wonderfully in the Saxon manuscripts.

To understand what is meant by this lightness the carvings of the Christ Majesty on the tympanum at Rochester Cathedral, Barfreston, and Malmesbury should be compared with the similarly posed figure on the tympanum of the Prior's Door, Ely. Whereas in the first-named works the figure is solemnly seated and heavy, and looks as though it would immediately fall crashing downwards if pushed from behind, at Ely the Christ, possessing the quality of the crucified Christ of the Saxon manuscripts, is a figure poised within the compass of the mandorla, not the impressively enthroned Judge, but the risen Lord in glory, a figure that might float forward from the tympanum and upward in the air. And with this sense of buoyant form rather than of ponderously conceived sculptural masses, goes a corresponding emphasis on gesture and a quickening and agitation of the surface detail, a feeling of surcharged linear excitement, so that in total effect the Ely carving really does remind us of the Winchester style in painting and drawing, even though much in the composition is in fact ultimately foreign in origin.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the reference to the Shernborne and Toftrees fonts, p. 38.

This quality of buoyancy accompanied by certain elegancies and linear graces may, then, prove to be a definite contribution from Saxon art that is perceptible in subsequent English sculpture, even as late as the Gothic period; but it is, I admit, difficult to detect and only very rarely found, even in Norman work. Furthermore, it is easy to confuse occasional Norman carvings that have unexpected vivacity and delicacy with those possessing what may be the authentic Saxon feel. Lightness alone, sprightliness alone, and crumpled lines alone, are not to be accepted as criteria of the Saxon taste without careful reference to the bewilderingly varied foreign sources that control our twelfth-century sculptural styles. This means that it is really almost impossible to define the quality to which I am referring, and therefore let us without further discussion name a church where there are carvings in which one may reasonably recognize Saxon influence. These are of late twelfth-century date and they are to be found in the parish church of Water Stratford, Buckinghamshire.<sup>1</sup> There was extensive rebuilding here in 1828, but the south doorway survived the alterations of that year almost unchanged, and the tympanum therein (Pl. XCVI) was then very much as we see it today, though it was repaired about 1890 when the figure of Christ was given a new head. The north doorway of the church also contains a carved tympanum, and this does not seem to have been damaged in any way and is no doubt an untouched original feature of the twelfth-century church.

The south tympanum is a noble carving in low relief representing Christ Majesty in a mandorla with supporting angels, the same subject as that of the tympanum of the Prior's Door at Ely, and it rests on a carved lintel that bears a row of slender columns with intersecting arches shown off against a prettily diapered background. The obviously outstanding quality of the composition is that the figures are not heavy sculptured masses, but lightly poised surface-designs, just engraved silhouetted forms rather than carvings in the round, and this at once distinguishes the work from the full-bodied and on the whole rather Frenchified versions at Rochester and Barfreston or the provincial variants as seen in the West Country variants of the same subject at Rowlestone or Shobdon. When we ask

<sup>1</sup> This is fully described by Sir John Myres, *Records of Bucks*, VII (1897), p. 115.

why it stands out so conspicuously as a work of an entirely different character, the explanation seems to be that this Water Stratford south tympanum is a carving by an English sculptor who was still inspired by the living tradition of his Saxon forefathers' Winchester art.

This is, of course, exceedingly difficult to prove; for we cannot expect to find that the sculptor was directly copying some known Saxon drawing. Indeed, I feel sure he was not, since it is clear enough that his model for the figure of the Christ was French and not Saxon. In fact, of the central figure all we can say is that the proportions, the nervous and crinkled richness of the drapery edging the figure, the drawing of the bare right arm, and the detail of the raised left thumb,<sup>1</sup> remind us of Saxon draughtsmanship; it may be agreed, however, that the supporting angels offer more convincing evidence, for they have an anguished dramatic quality that seems to be recognizably of Saxon inspiration. I should like to direct attention to the upward-pointing line of the chin and neck (Pl. XCVI, 2), which is a characteristic Saxon detail (cf. Pl. XIX, 2), to their gigantic proportions, to the strained gesture of the powerful, widely outstretched arms, and to the clear strong line with which they are drawn. Here there is a real connecting link between the pre-Conquest manuscripts (cf. Pl. VII) and the post-Conquest sculpture.

There is nothing to be said of the simple Norman arch, except to observe that so heavy a frame for a tympanum in low relief is by no means unusual in this country. The point to make next concerns the two supporting capitals which are decorated with interlacing ribbons, one of them having an animal's head terminal. These disregard the Norman system of ornament for a capital, as the sprawling decoration obscures rather than enhances the structural form. We learnt from the example of Kilpeck that this in itself does not prove them Saxon in character; but note here the survival of a Saxon detail, namely the curious little knot that adorns the tail of the ribbons of the left-hand capital. It is a very small and apparently insignificant oddity in the design; but it is a characteristic Saxon

<sup>1</sup> This is not an exclusively English feature, but cf. the Christ Majesty in Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 15. 34, p. 1 (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Proc.*, XXXIX, Pl. 11, b, opp: p. 81), and also the Ely tympanum; for the right arm cf. the same MS. and the Saxon tympanum at Castor, Northants.

finish, and one that cannot have its origin in anything other than Saxon ornament. I am now referring to that copious series of terminal knots to be seen in the decorative initials of the tenth- and eleventh-century author-texts that have been described in Chapter III (Pls. XXXI, XXXII).

The north door at Water Stratford has a lintel that may well be a survival from Saxon art, though the tympanum above it is not by any means the same sort of carving. In this respect the difference is like that between the moulding of the arch and the lintel on the south door and the Saxon-style tympanum that they frame. The north-door lintel bears a carving in low relief of two interlacing beasts with thin scratchy little forelegs. It is a rambling design, unframed, and goes well with the capitals of the south door (cf. the animal-head of the east capital with the similar heads on the north lintel). It is possible that it has, at least distantly, an Anglo-Scandinavian character, and the design may be vaguely related to the interlacing beasts of the sort that we have seen on the Gosforth cross (Pl. XLIV).<sup>1</sup> The north tympanum is, however, in an entirely different style. It contains an *Agnus Dei*, a flat carving lightly imposed upon a dainty chequer-pattern, and there is nothing archaic or degenerate about it. On the contrary, it is very well done indeed, and clearly represents a matured ornamental style that is of extreme rarity in English Romanesque sculpture. It must almost beyond doubt be connected with the eastern or Byzantine method of presenting the figure-subject against a diapered background that is found in France in the middle twelfth-century enamelled plaques of Geoffrey of Anjou and Bishop Eulger, and in England only dubiously and in a half-hearted way before the period of the Lindesaye Psalter (1214-22) in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. This means that the north tympanum can hardly be earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, from which it follows that all the Water Stratford sculptures must be late; for not only is the north lintel in the same style as the capitals of the south door, but the north tympanum is in the same style as the lintel of the south tympanum. Therefore the sculptors of the carvings at this little church have given us not only rustic archaisms with a Saxon feel about them, but also highly competent and fashionable carvings of the period, and the lesson seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Better Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 184.

that even at a late date Norman sculpture can be complex and eclectic, mixing contemporary styles with countrified essays in an ancient and insular manner.

It will suffice to name only two other Norman sculptures in which we may detect Saxon influence. One is the late twelfth-century cross at Kelloe, Co. Durham, a carving that may have an *a priori* claim on our attention as it is one of the very few post-Conquest crosses in an area where in Saxon times the cross had been the commonest type of monument. It is probably a distant descendant of the eighth-century panelled St. Andrew Auckland cross,<sup>1</sup> some 10 miles away in the same county, and it is shouldered in a rather odd way that recalls the very late 'full-length' crosses (p. 63), especially of the type of the one in the church at Lancaster.<sup>2</sup> A first impression, no doubt, is that we do not find anything Saxon in the sculpture, for it is in intention a sophisticated Romanesque carving in the French manner. Yet the figures, which illustrate the story of St. Helena, are remarkable for their delicacy of form and their lightness and sketchy grace; thus, on a closer examination, we see that the central panel contains two personages of slender proportions gaily enriched with gentle line-drawing and softly falling draperies, and they are framed in an arch out of which, and over and around which, blow acanthus leaves with all the gusty strength of the foliage in a Saxon manuscript. The second sculpture is the Christ Majesty at Barnack in Northamptonshire (p. 81, n. 1), a figure 3 feet in height that is carved to a depth of nearly 6 inches in a round-arched recess. The connexion with pre-Conquest work is here of a different kind, for there is no question of Saxon lightness, and indeed the carving has in my judgement every sign of being both iconographically and in intended solidity a twelfth-century work in a French style; but it also has three things about it that give it simultaneously something of a Saxon look. The first is the drapery detail that on one side of the figure has swung itself forward over the frame; the second is the very low surface relief that gives a soft line-drawing effect to the details of the drapery-folds; and the third is the deep vertically edged sinking of the fronts of the lower part of the legs, for this recalls the curious method of modelling that we noted on the not very far away Shelford cross (p. 79).

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LII.

<sup>2</sup> Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 171.

As we have cited three versions of the Anglo-Saxon figural style in ivory carvings (Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX), we should add that the English continued to carve ivories at the time of the Conquest and also in the twelfth century. The whole series has been described by Miss M. H. Longhurst,<sup>1</sup> and the post-Conquest ivories need not delay the conclusion of this chapter. What seems to have happened is that in Saxon times in addition to the ivories reflecting the inspiration of Winchester art, there were others more sedate in composition and duller in spirit with a figure-style distinguished by rather more solid personages. In general, such ivories have a Continental rather than an insular character, and the group is the natural antecedent of the late-eleventh- and twelfth-century ivories that are undoubtedly inspired by foreign motives, some of them bearing English versions of the Romanesque Scroll, and others being ivories of the Byzantine figure-styles, the ivory-carvers' equivalent of the Chichester panels and the Vezelay tympanum. The figures in this last group are long and slender with sloping shoulders and gloomy stare; an example in low relief is the Victoria and Albert Museum 'Adoration of the Magi',<sup>2</sup> and another, in high relief, is the Dorchester king,<sup>3</sup> also from an Adoration group. These splendid ivories are rightly called English, but they are not important witnesses to the continued influence of the Saxon taste. It is true, as Sir Eric Maclagan has said,<sup>4</sup> that the Dorchester king corresponds fairly closely in style with the figure of the Almighty in the Shaftesbury Psalter (Pl. XCV, 1) in which there is a Saxon quality (p. 136); but the resemblance is not sufficiently exact for us to assert that the ivory possesses the indefinable, though real and recognizable, Saxon look of the painting in this twelfth-century manuscript. Therefore it is not necessary to include pictures of this or any other of the late ivories among our plates here.

Our subject, therefore, comes rather feebly to an end; but it is the right way to close this book. In our survey we have been mainly concerned with Saxon art at the time of its greatest strength and of its most daring imaginings, and it is sufficient to have discovered that its spirit survived to endow with its

<sup>1</sup> *English Ivories*, London, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Longhurst, *op. cit.*, Pl. 24, No. XXII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Pl. 26, No. XXIV.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, IV (1924), p. 214.

peculiar graces some of the manuscripts and monuments of a later age. We find, which is the important thing, that the Conquest itself and the settlement here of influential foreign patrons of art did not operate as an instant death-blow to the brilliantly idiomatic native taste; but we also discover that after the Conquest, as is natural enough, the Saxon style is only infrequently expressed in its original manner, and the lesson of this and the previous chapter is that on the whole Saxon art as a period-style must be held to have dissolved itself somewhat rapidly in the newly created Anglo-Norman Romanesque styles. Yet the tradition of Saxon drawing remained, and, as a last imponderable, we must reckon with the apparently unimportant fact that we are not dealing only with an unconscious transmission of the Saxon temper and feeling, some dim inherited aptitude for sensitive drawing, but with a real and discernible legacy. After all, in their book-illuminations the Saxons gave us one of the noblest collections of works of art that England has ever produced, and this did not vanish from the land. On the contrary, it survived in part throughout the Middle Ages and could be seen in its original form in full and unfaded glory in many of the large monastic libraries. This great corpus of remarkable paintings and drawings must assuredly have been an ever-present inspiration to the artists who in the later centuries worked in the same monasteries. Times change and fashions alter, and there was no reason for copying the old pictures in the books that the Church still treasured; but this national example cannot have been entirely negligible. The significance of Saxon art, then, lies not only in its own great achievement, but also in the possibility that it remained long after its own day was over as a force sufficient to quicken the imagination of the Englishmen who were the heirs of the Saxons, a force perhaps potent enough even to guide the later artist's hand.

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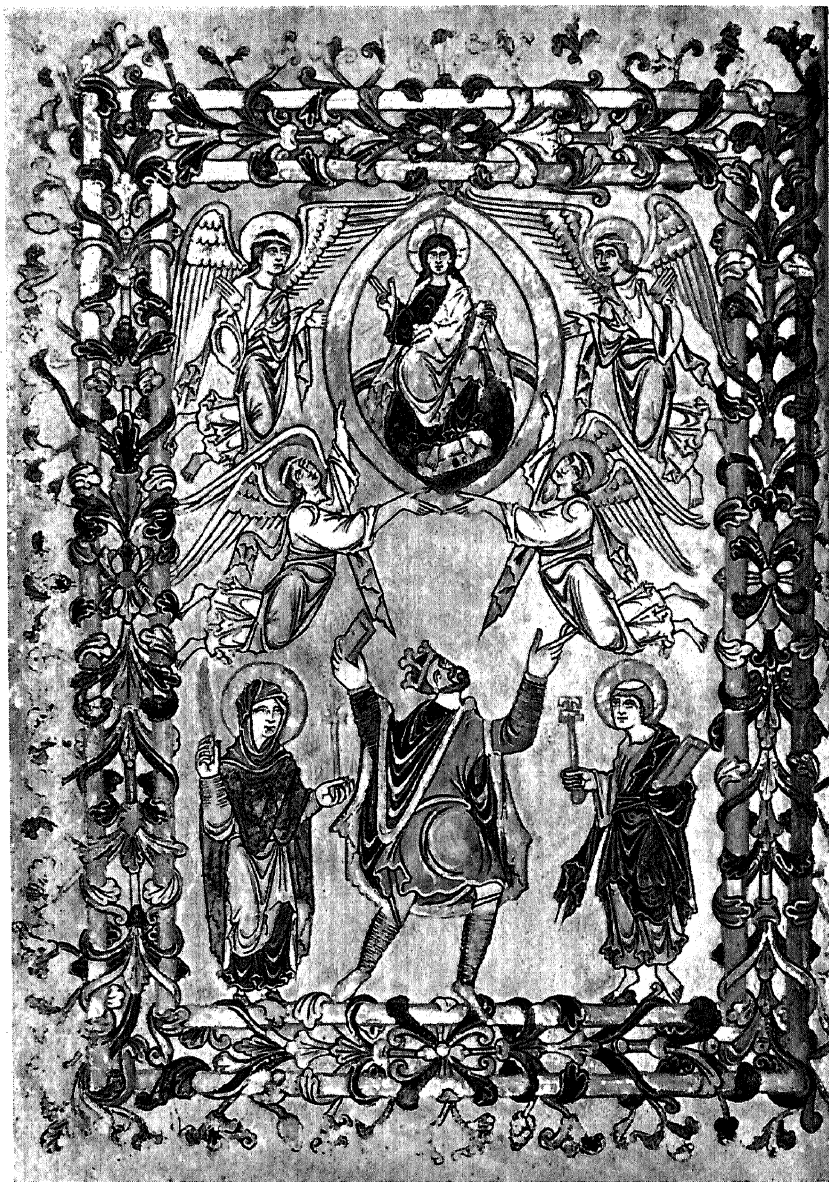
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BENEDICTONAL OF ST. ETHELWOLD:  
folio 90b, ST. ETHELDRYTHE



BENEDICTIONAL  
OF ST. ETHELWOLD,  
details, folios 56b  
and 25

*Chalworth*





BENEDICTIONAL OF ST. ETHELWOLD:  
folio 99b, ST. BENEDICT



GRIMBALD GOSPELS, British Museum, Add. 34890, folio 112

GRIMBALD  
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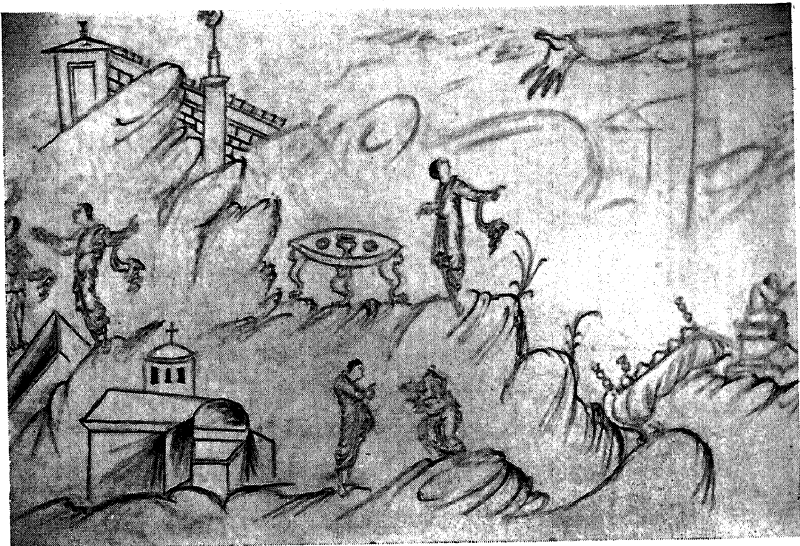


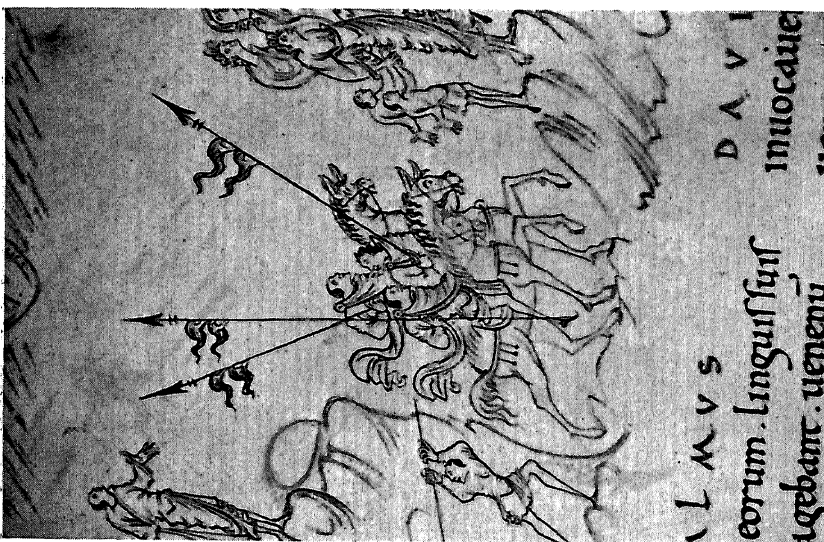


PSALTER, British Museum, Harley 2904, folio 3b

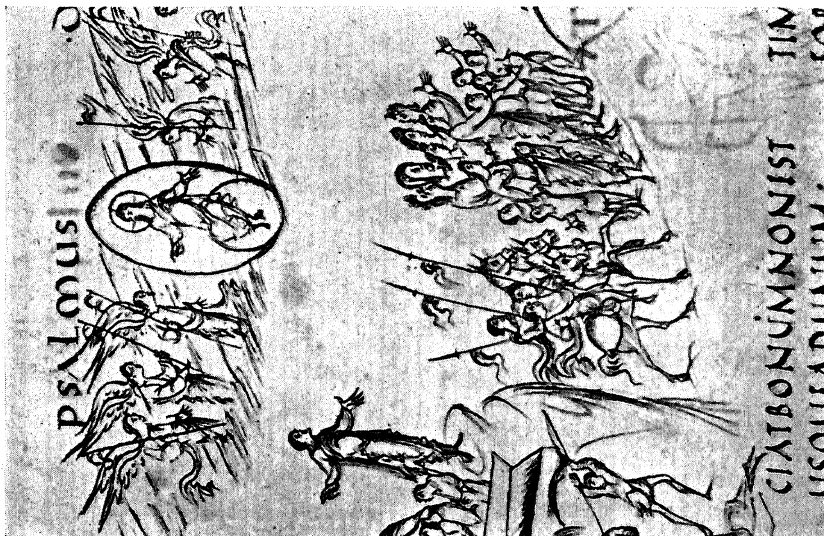


PSALTER, British Museum, Harley 603, details, folios 52*b* and 24

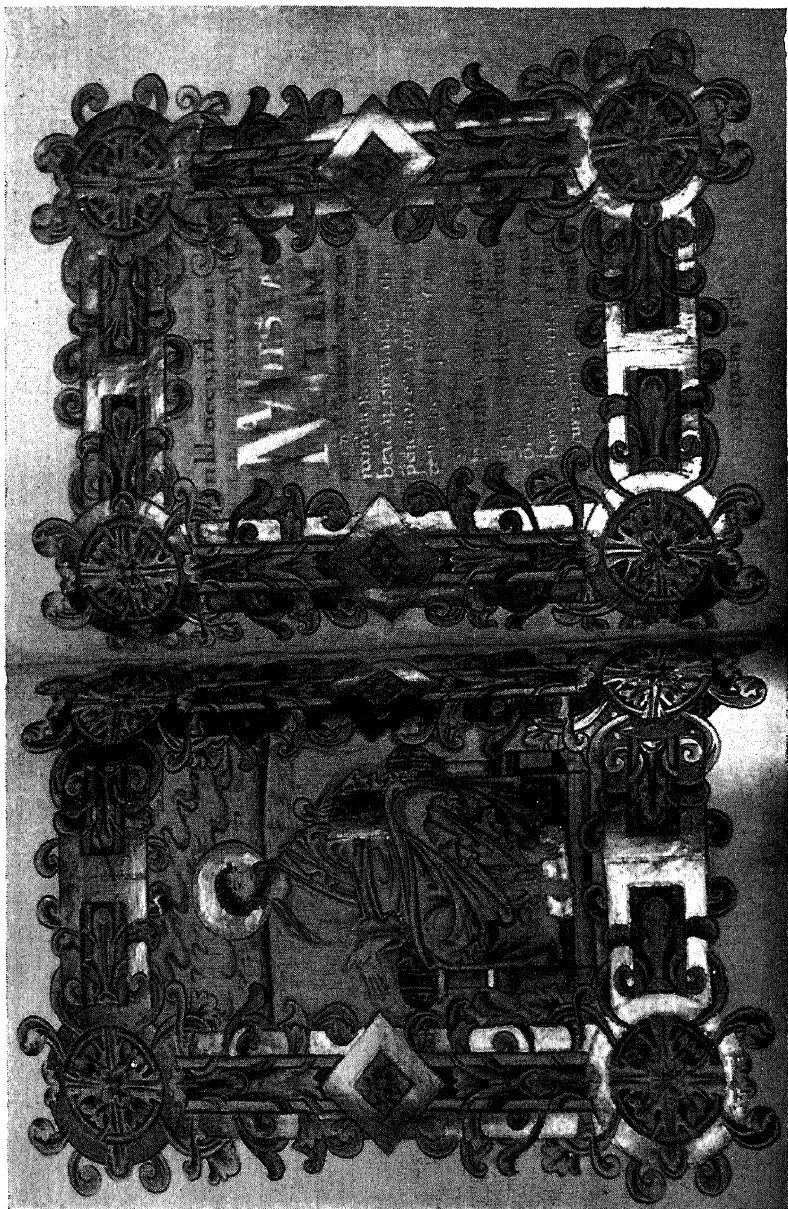




1. PSALTER,  
Harley 603,  
folio 7b, detail



2. UTRECHT  
PSALTER,  
Psalms 14,  
detail



MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES, Rouen MS. Y. 6, folios 164<sup>b</sup>-165



GOSPELS, Pierpont Morgan MS. 709, folio 1v  
CRUCIFIXION



GOSPELS, Pierpont Morgan MS. 709, folio 48b  
ST. LUKE



PSALTER, British Museum, Harley 603, folio 1



1. PSALTER,  
British  
Museum,  
Arundel 155,  
folio 93,  
detail



2. GOSPELS,  
Trinity Coll.,  
Cambridge,  
B. 10. 4,  
folio 166,  
detail

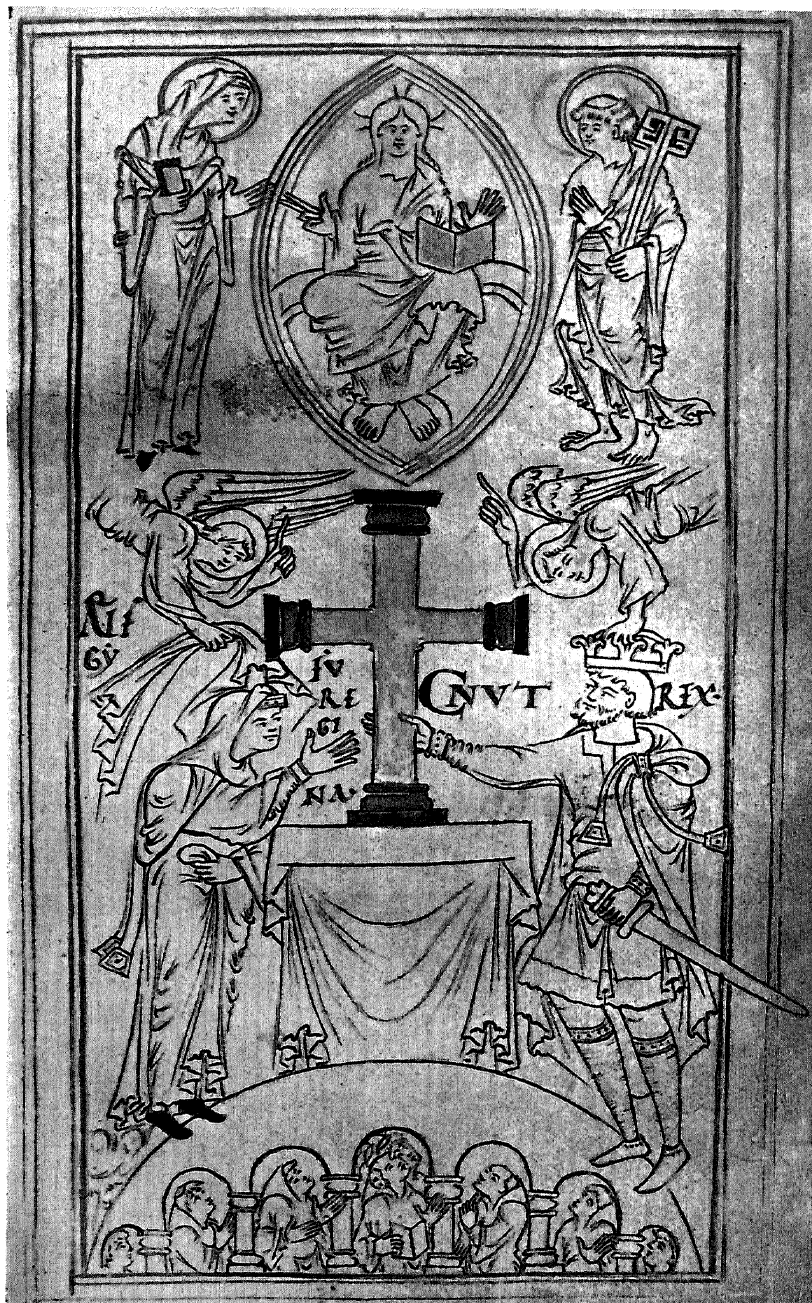


PSALTER, British Museum, Tiberius C. VI, folio 14

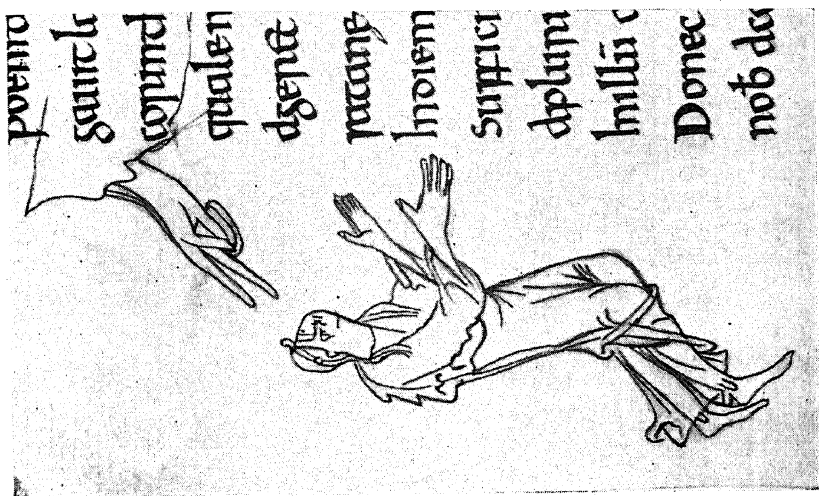


EASTER TABLES, British Museum, Caligula A. XV,  
folios 122b and 123

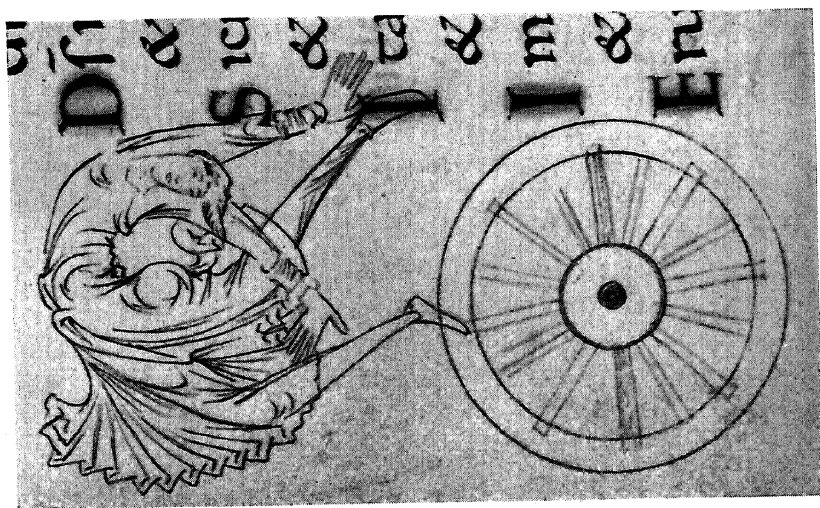


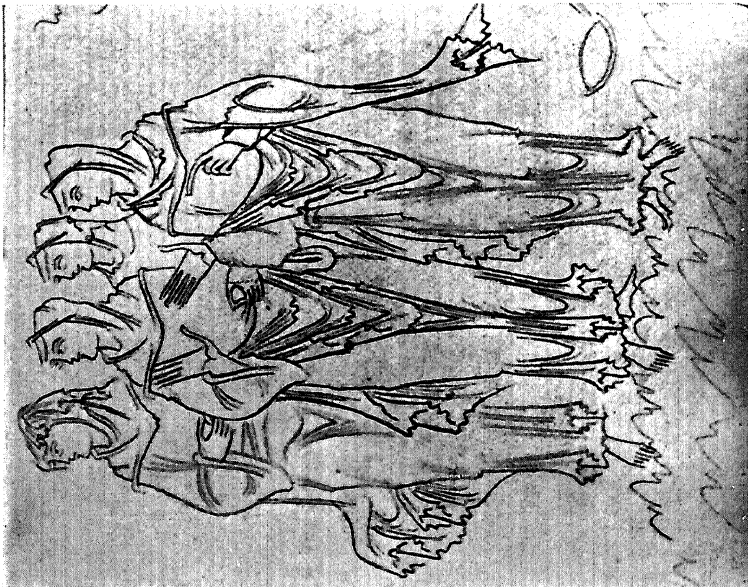


1. BURY  
ST. EDMUNDS  
PSALTER,  
Vatican, Reg.  
Lat. 12,  
folio 90b,  
detail



2. PENITENTIAL OF  
ARCHBISHOP  
EGBERT,  
Bodleian MS. 718,  
folio 28b,  
detail



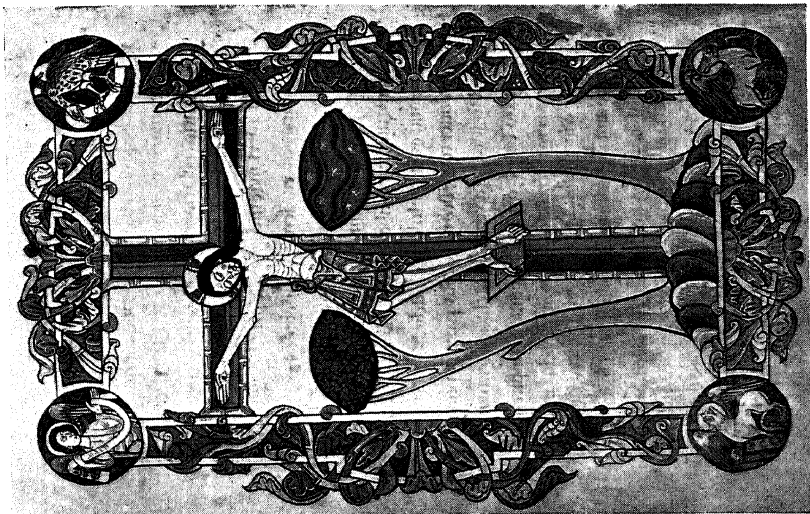


1. PRUDENTIUS, Corpus, Cambridge, MS. 23,  
folio 23*b*, detail

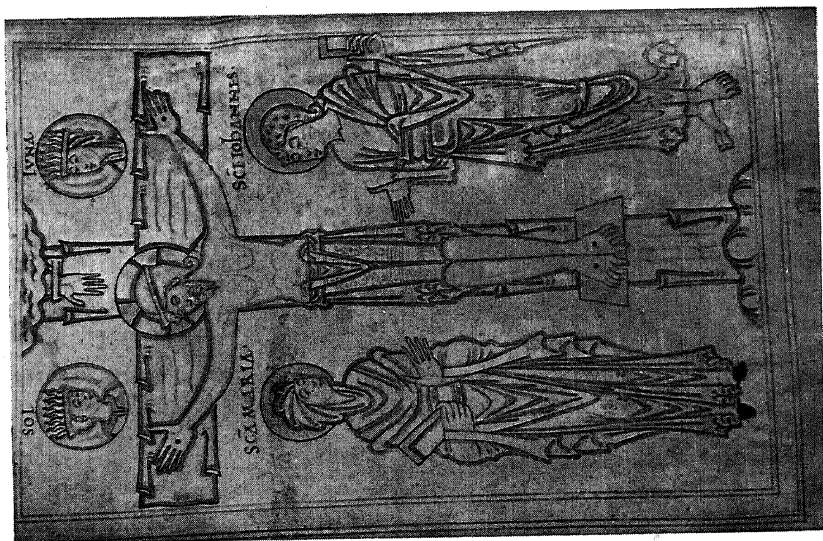


2. NEW MINSTER REGISTER, British Museum,  
Stowe 944, folio 7, detail

1. PSALTER,  
British Museum,  
Arundel 60,  
folio 12b

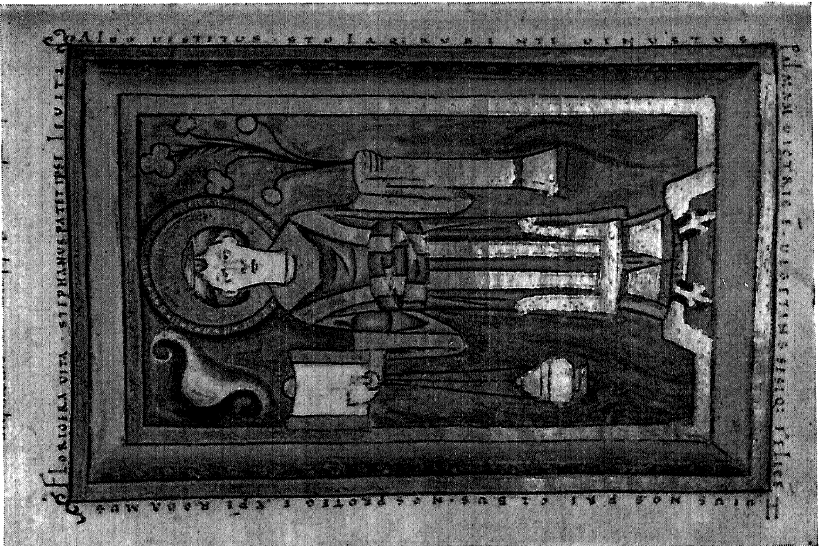


2. PSALTER,  
British Museum,  
Arundel 60,  
folio 52b

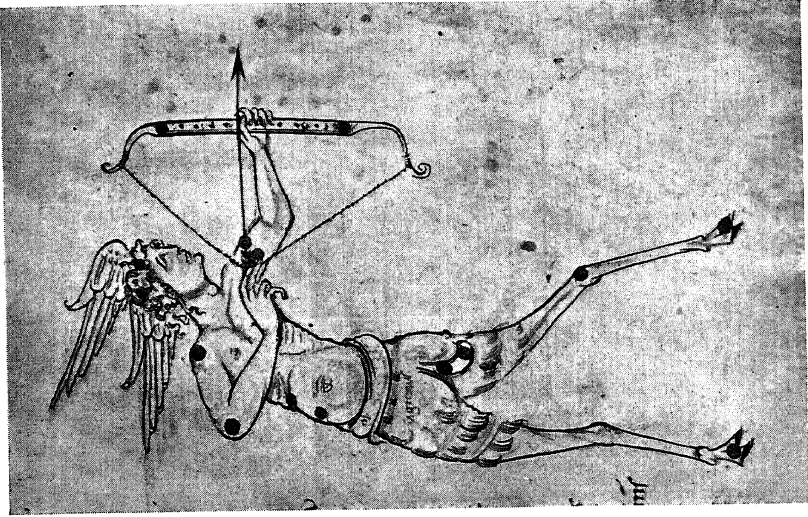




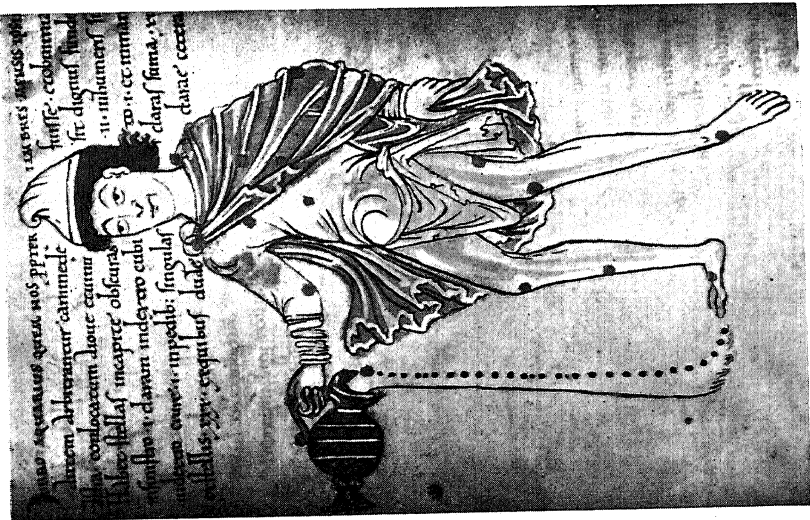
TROPER,  
British  
Museum,  
Caligula A.  
XIV, folios  
9b and 20b

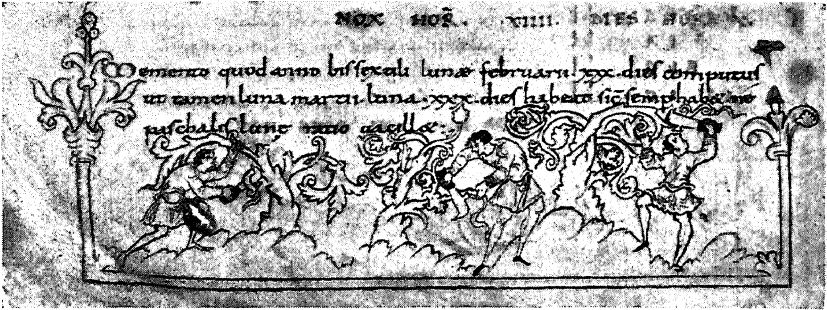


1. ARATEA,  
British Museum,  
Tiberius B. V,  
folio 36,  
Aquarius



2. ARATEA,  
British Museum,  
Harley 2506,  
folio 39b,  
Sagittarius

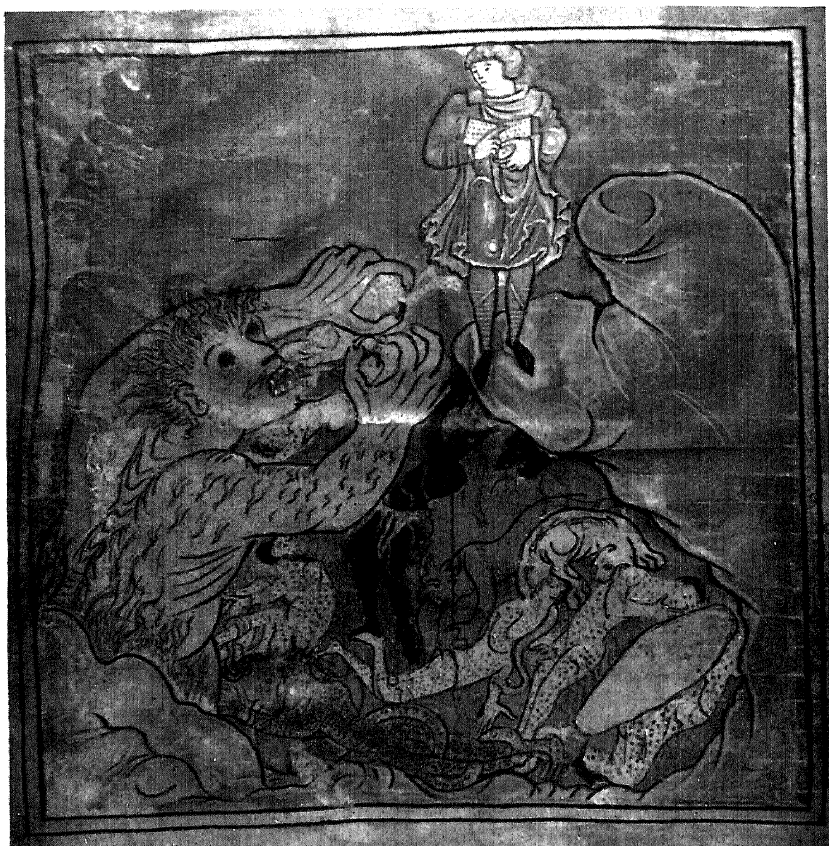




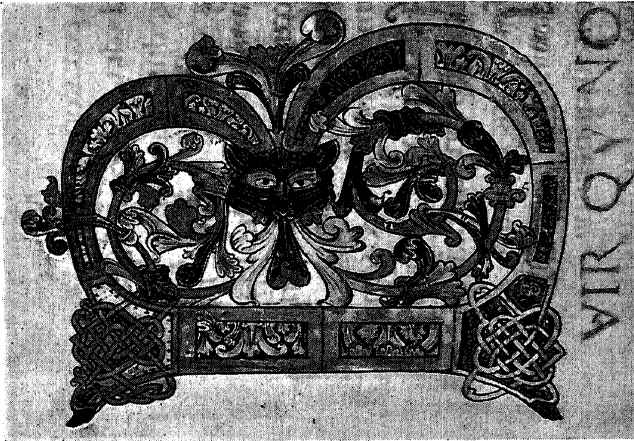
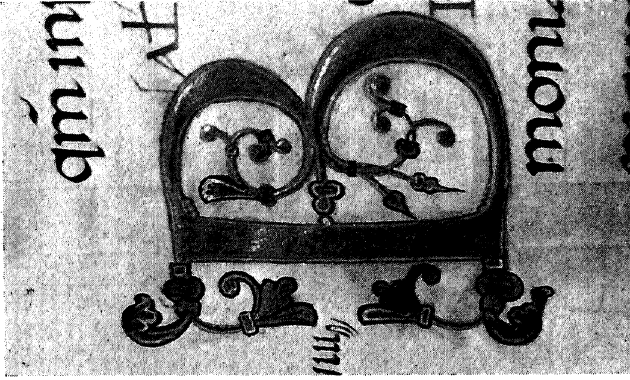
1. CALENDAR PICTURE, British Museum, Julius A. VI, folio 3b
- 2, 3. CALENDAR PICTURE, British Museum, Tiberius B. V, folios 3 and 7
4. ÆLFRIC'S PENTATEUCH, British Museum, Claudius B. IV, folio 61b



HERBARIUM AND MEDICAL WORK, British Museum,  
Vitellius C. III, folios 36b, 76, and 82



MAMBRES AT THE MOUTH OF HELL, British Museum,  
Tiberius B. V, folio 87b



3

2

1

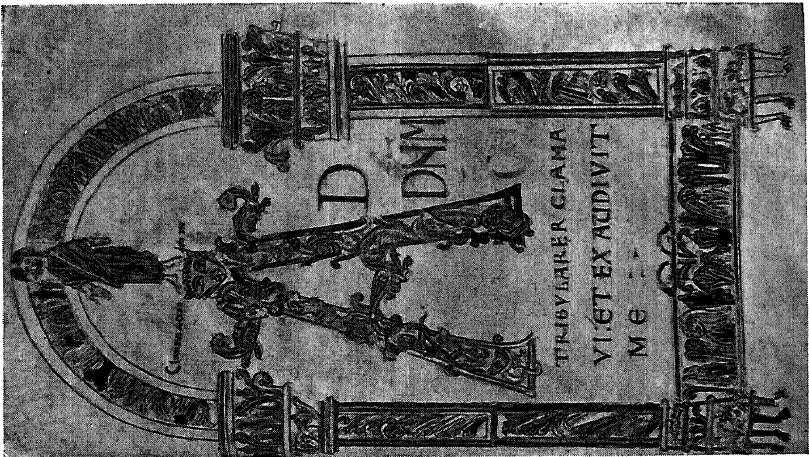
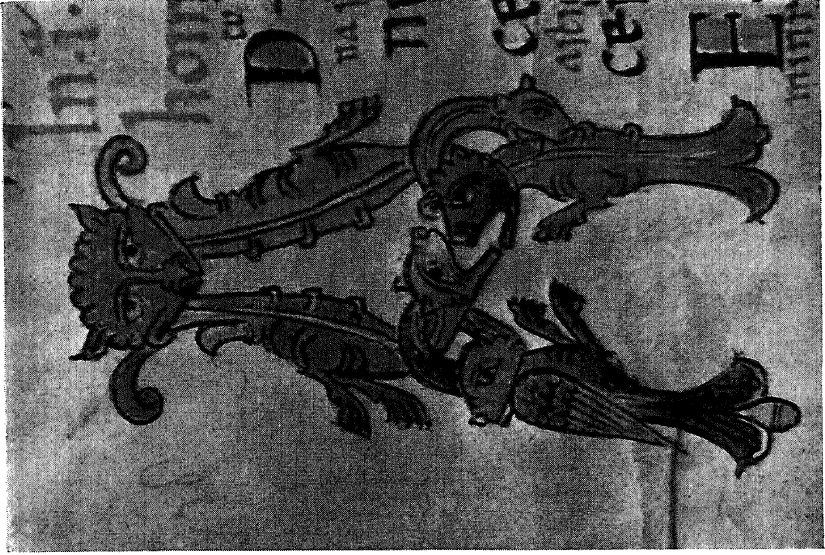
- INITIALS. 1, 2. PSALTER, British Museum, Harley 2904, folios 4 and 151b  
3. PSALTER, British Museum, Arundel 60, folio 13 (see also Pl. LXXXIX, 2)

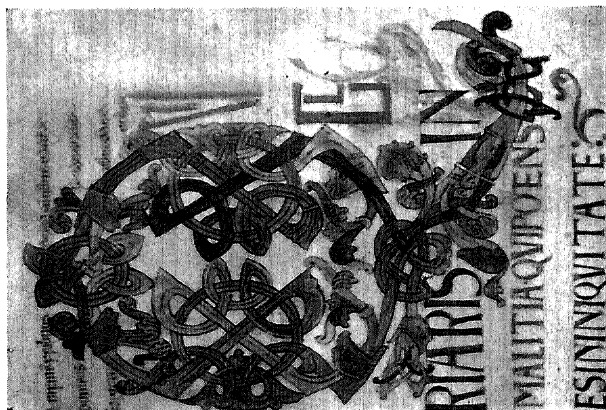


INITIALS.

- 1, 2. Bodleian, Tanner 10, folios 12b and 54
- 3, 4. Corpus, Cambridge, MS. 183
5. British Museum, Royal 7 D. XXIV, folio 90b
6. Bodleian, Junius 27, folio 20

PSALTER, Cathedral,  
Salisbury  
MS. 150,  
folios 122 and  
32b, detail

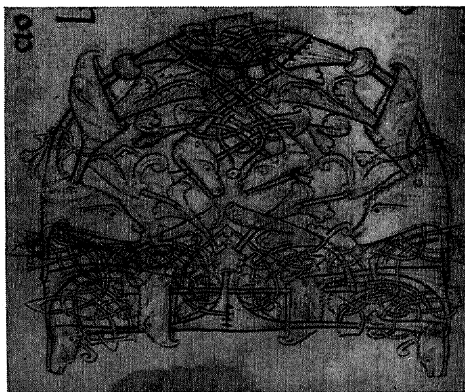




1

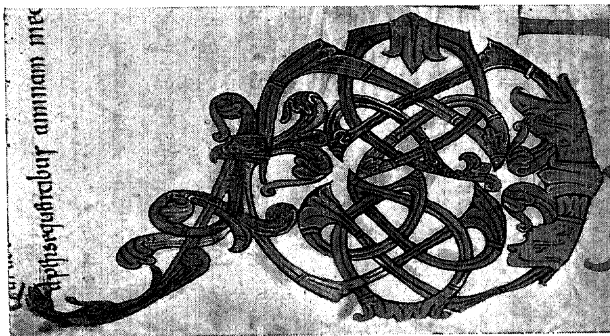
INITIALS.

1, 3. BOSWORTH PSALTER, British Museum, Add. 37517, folios 33 and 74



2

2. BOETHIUS, Bodleian, Auct. F. I. 15, folio 65



3



1



2

## INITIALS

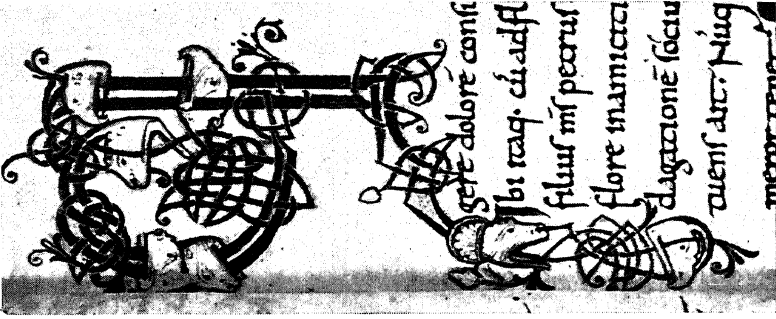
- 1-3. AMALARIUS, Trinity, Cambridge,  
MS. B. II. 2, folios 9b, 17b, 44  
4. RULES OF ST. BENEDICT, British  
Museum, Harley 5431, folio 68b



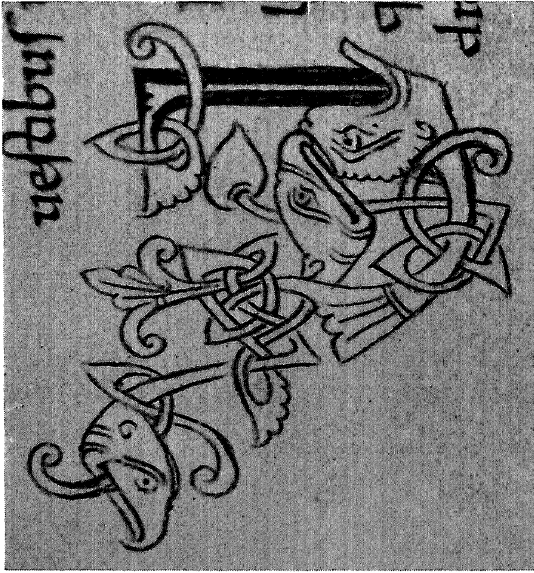
3



4

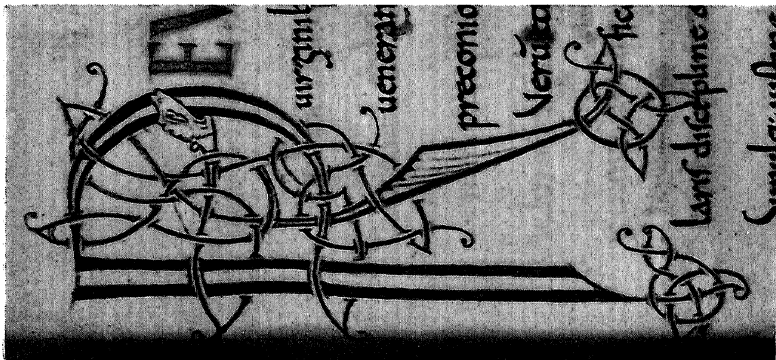


3



2

- INITIALS.
1. Bodleian, Digby 146, folio 7
  2. Lambeth MS. 200, folio 17b
  3. Lambeth MS. 204, folio 2



1

1. LIFE OF  
ST. CUTHBERT,  
Corpus, Cambridge,  
MS. 183,  
folio 1*b*,  
detail



2. ALDHELM,  
Lambeth,  
MS. 200,  
folio 69,  
detail





CROSS-SHAFT, COLYTON, DEVON

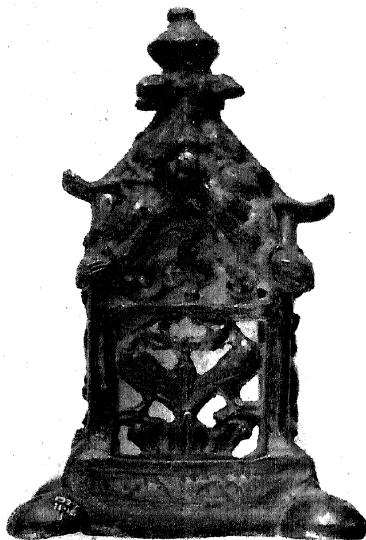
Ht. c. 7 ft.



DETAIL OF TYMPANUM, KNOOK, WILTS



1



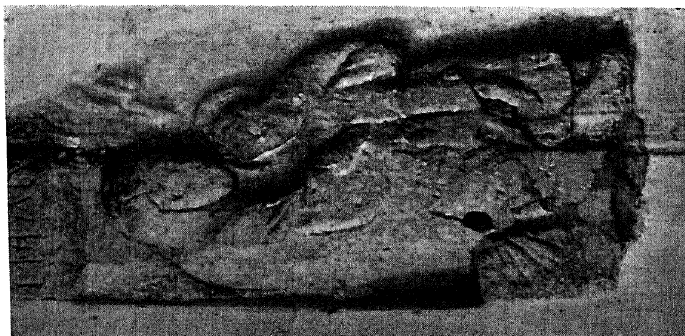
2



3

1. IVORY PENNER FROM LONDON. L. 9 in.
2. BRONZE CENSER-TOP FROM CANTERBURY. Ht. 4.7 in.
3. BRONZE CRUET. Ht. 3.7 in.

*All in British Museum*



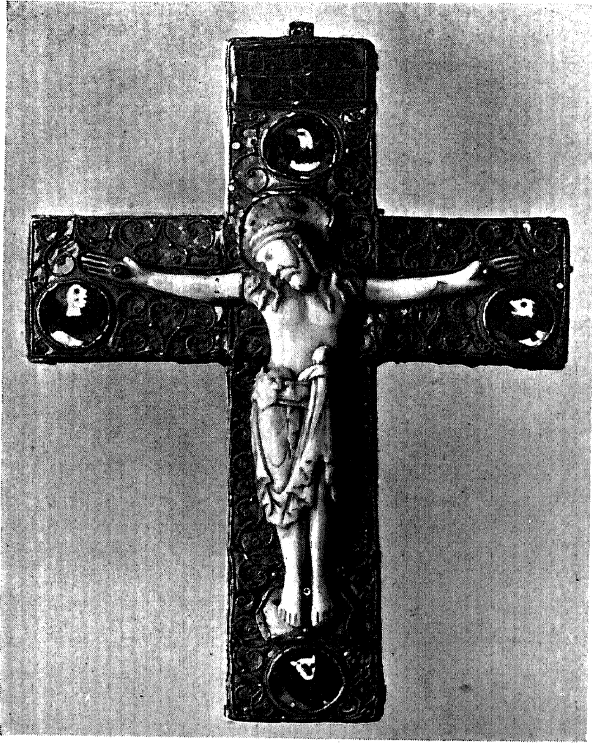
HARROWING  
OF HELL,  
BRISTOL  
CATHEDRAL

Ht. c. 7 ft.

VIRGIN AND  
CHILD,  
INGLESHAM,  
WILTS

Ht. c. 3 ft.





I. RELIQUARY  
CROSS WITH  
IVORY  
CARVING

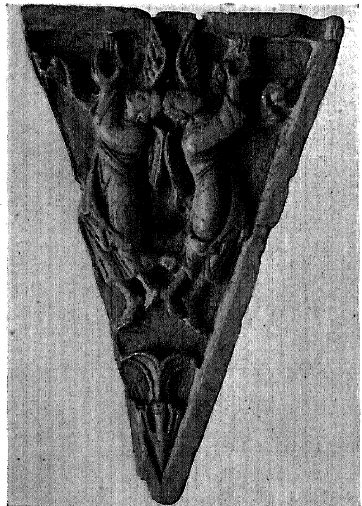
Ht. of figure  
c. 5 in.

*Victoria & Albert  
Museum*



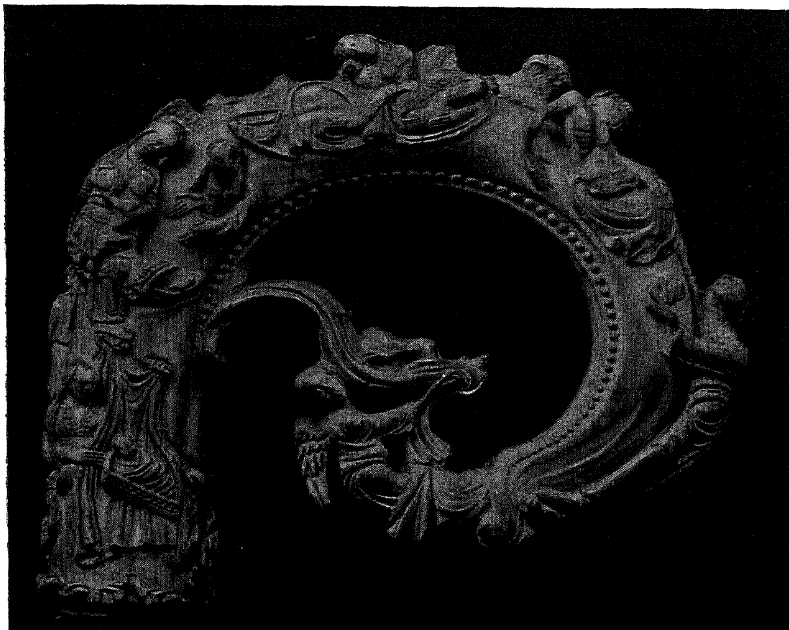
2. IVORY SEAL OF GODWIN  
(detail, slightly enlarged)

*British Museum*



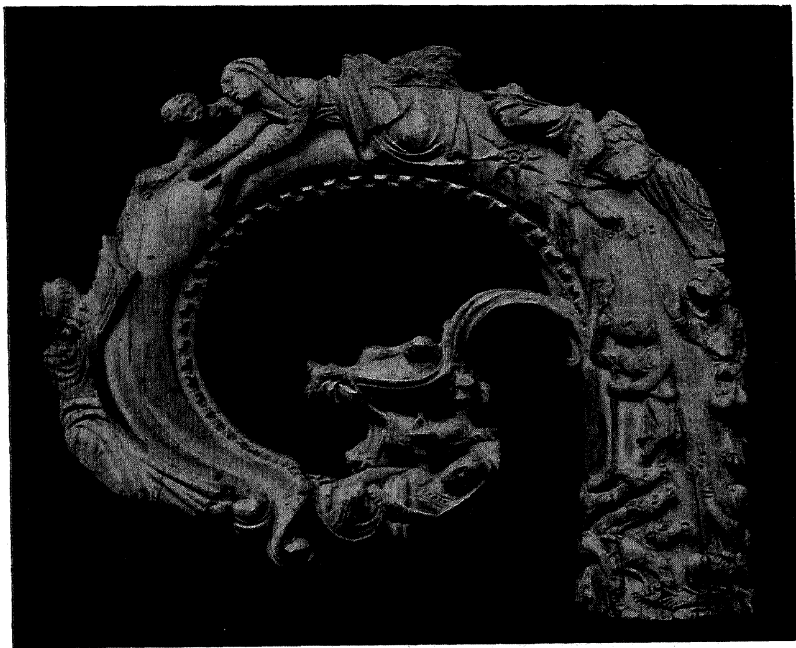
3. IVORY PANEL FOUND IN  
WINCHESTER. L. 3 in.

*Winchester Museum*



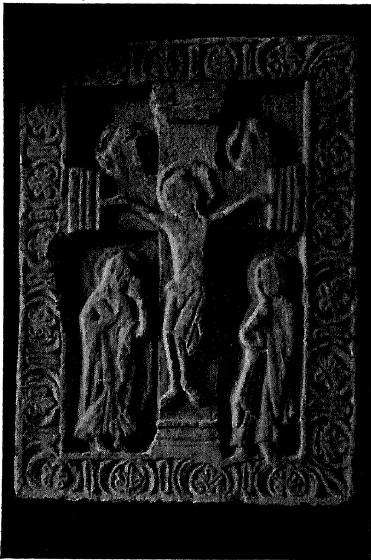
IVORY HEAD OF A CROZIER. Ht. c.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.

*Victoria & Albert Museum*

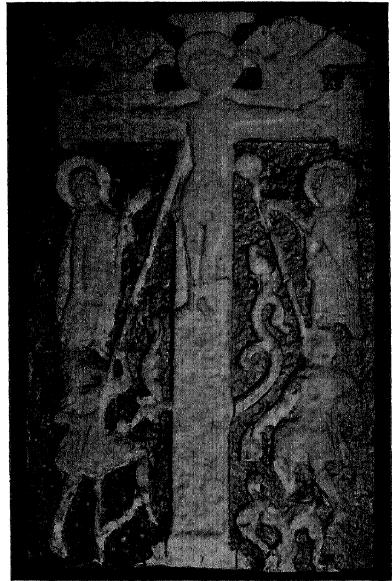




I. SCULPTURED ROOD, BREAMORE, HANTS  
Ht. c. 7 ft.



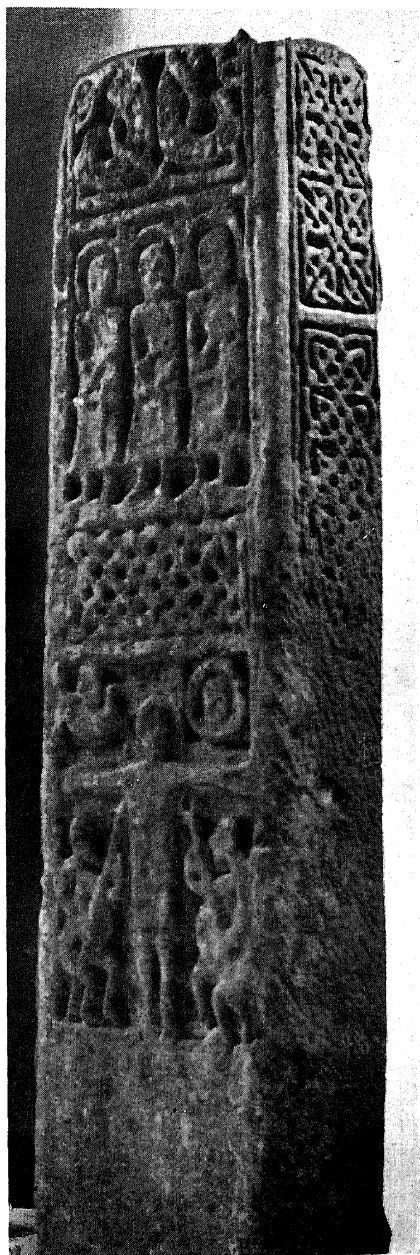
2. CRUCIFIXION PANEL,  
STEPNEY  
Ht. 3 ft. 2 in.



3. CRUCIFIXION PANEL,  
ROMSEY, HANTS  
Ht. c. 2 ft. 6 in



LEEDS PARISH CHURCH  
Ht. c. 11 ft.



AYCLIFFE, CO. DURHAM  
Ht. 4 ft. 9 in.



1



2

CROSS-SHAFT, HALTON, LANC'S



3



2

CROSS-HEADS FROM DURHAM CATHEDRAL CHAPTER HOUSE

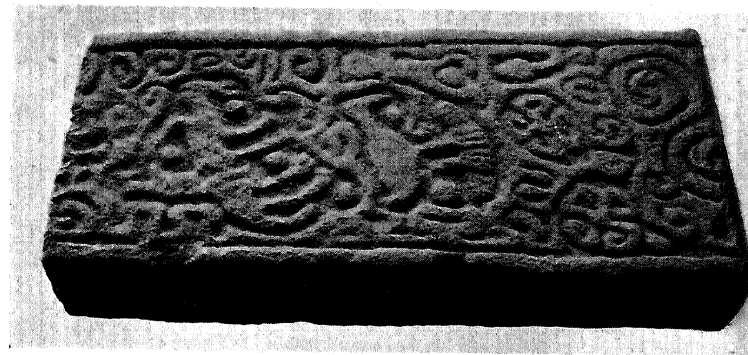
Ht.: 1, 2 ft. 2 in.; 2, 1 ft. 9 in.



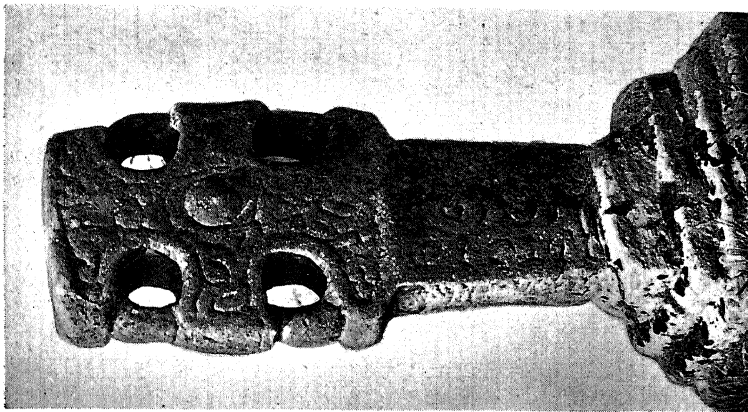
1. STONEGRAVE, N.R. YORKS  
Ht. 6 ft.



2. GOSFORTH, CUMBERLAND  
Ht. 14½ ft.



1. DEARHAM  
Ht. 20 in.

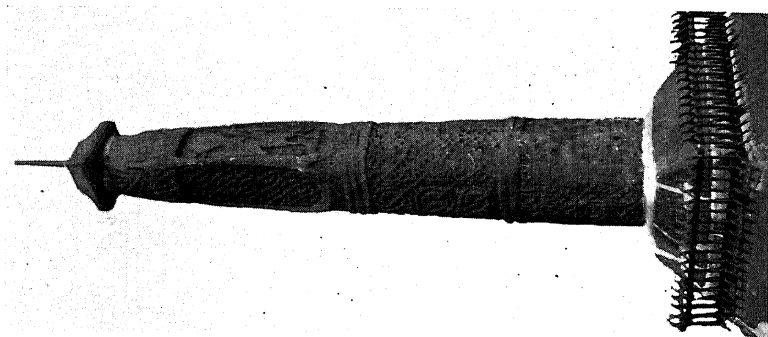


2. ADDINGHAM  
Ht. 3½ ft.

CROSS-SHAFTS AND GRAVE-COVER IN CUMBERLAND

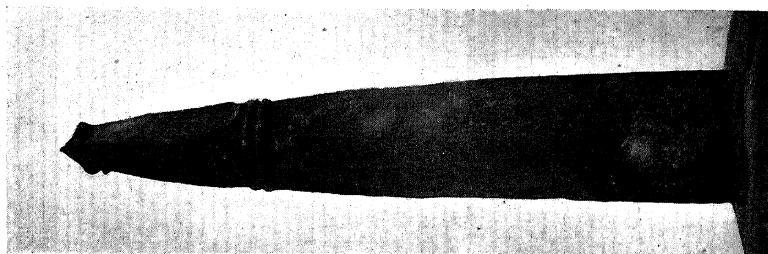


3. CROSS CANONBY  
Ht. 32 in.



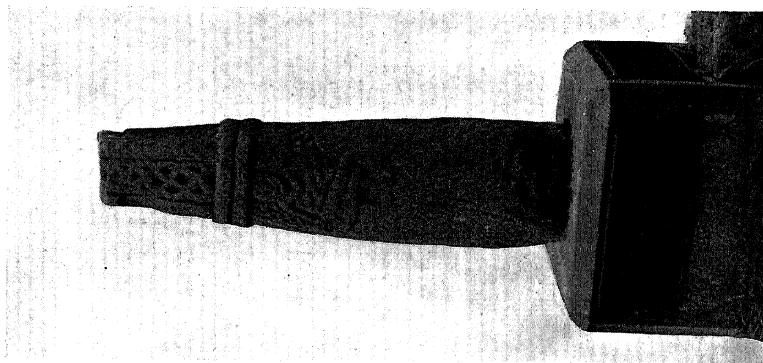
STAPLEFORD, NOTTS

Ht. 10 ft.



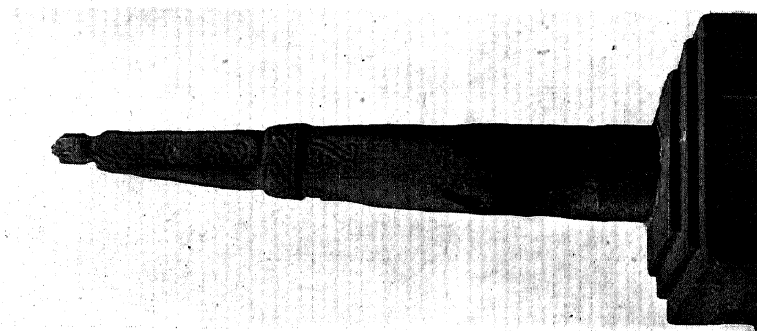
CLULOW, CHESHIRE

Ht. 9½ ft.



BRAILSFORD, DERBY

Ht. 4½ ft.



LEEK, STAFFS

Ht. 10 ft.

CROSS-SHAFT,  
BECKERMET ST. BRIDGET,  
CUMBERLAND

Ht. 4 ft.



ORNAMENT ON CROSS-SHAFT, BRAILSFORD, DERBY  
(cf. Pl. XLVI, 2)



1. WEST GILLING, N.R. YORKS  
Ht. 2 ft.



2. WHALLEY, LANCs  
Ht. c. 7 ft.



1



2

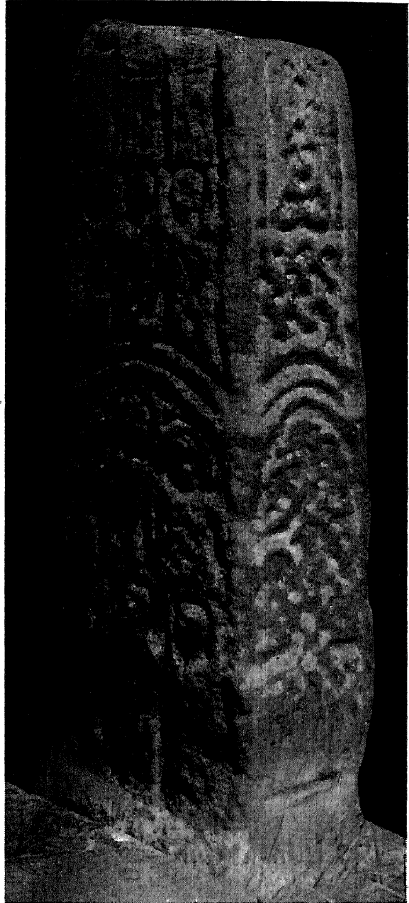


3

CROSS-SHAFTS, DERBYSHIRE

1. DARLEY DALE. Ht. 5 ft. 4 in.

2, 3. NORBURY. Ht. 5 ft. 3 in.



CROSS-SHAFTS,  
CHECKLEY, STAFFS

Ht. c. 5 ft.



FRAGMENT OF CROSS-SHAFT, SHELFORD, NOTTS  
Ht. c. 3 ft.

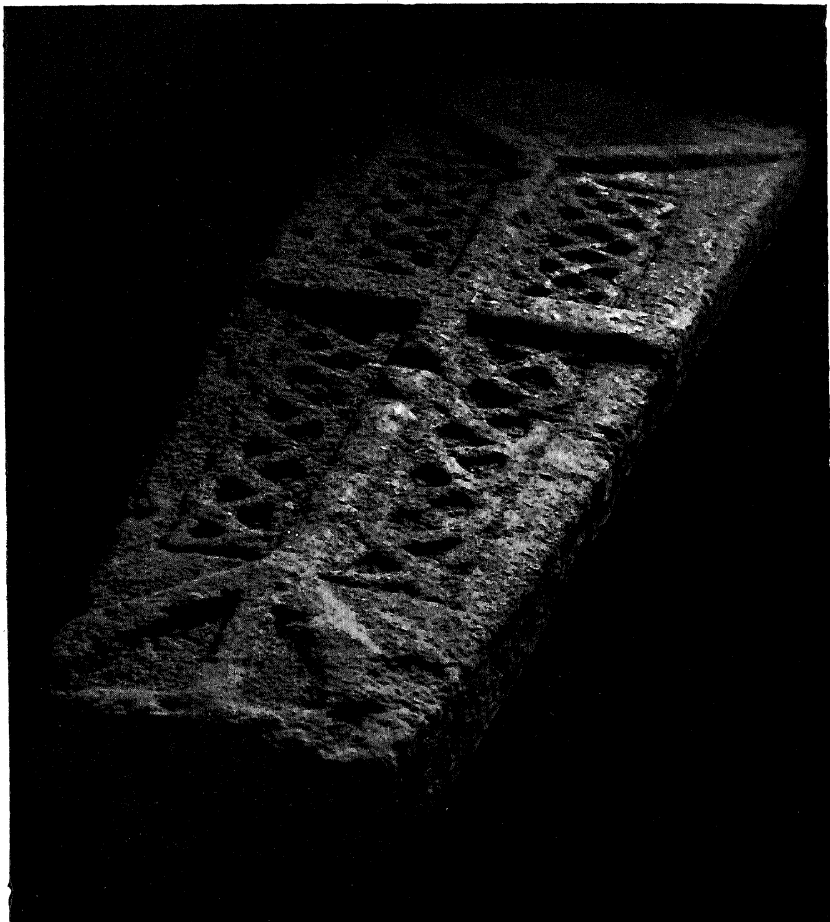


CROSS-SHAFT, DESBOROUGH, NORTHANTS  
Ht. 2 ft.

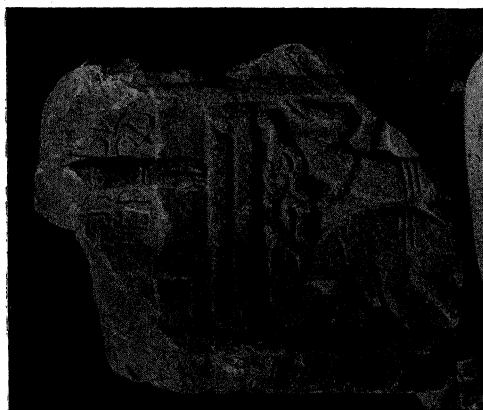




GRAVE-SLAB, SIDE VIEW AND TOP, HICKLING, NOTTS  
L. 5 ft. 9 in.



GRAVE-SLAB,  
MILTON BRYAN, BEDS  
L. 5 ft. 11 in.



CROSS-SHAFT, ALL HALLOWS, BARKINGSIDE  
Ht. 16 in.



GRAVE-SLAB, BEXHILL, SUSSEX

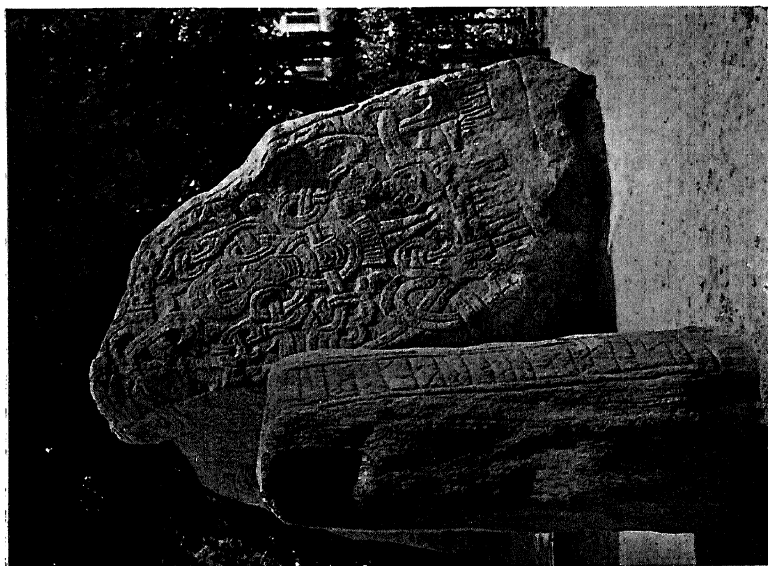
L. 2 ft. 9 in.

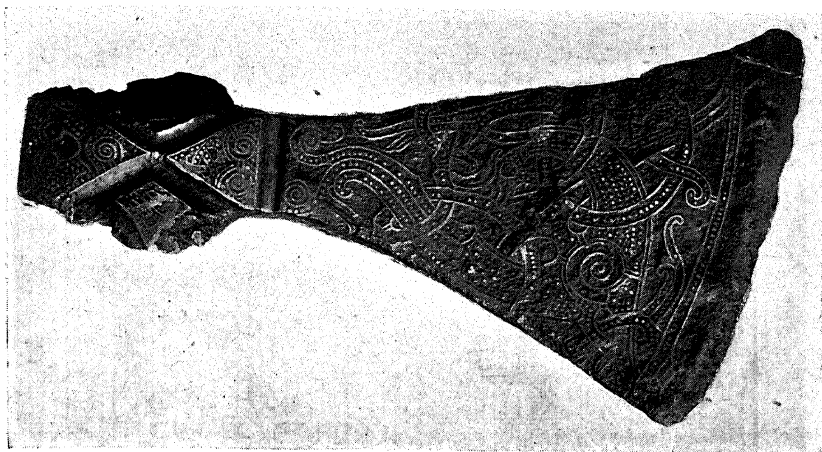


ORNAMENTAL YOKE, MAMMEN, JUTLAND  
L, c. 1 ft. 10 in.



RUNESTONE, JELLINGE, JUTLAND  
Ht.  $\approx$  8 ft.





I. INLAID AXE, MAMMEN, JUTLAND

L. c. 7 in.

*National Museum, Copenhagen*



2. BONE CARVING,  
THAMES AT LONDON

Diam. 3.3 in.

*British Museum*



3. BRONZE SWORD-CHAPE  
FOUND IN YORK

L. 3.4 in.

*The Yorkshire Museum*



STONE CARVINGS. 1. PICKHILL, N.R. YORKS. L. 1 ft. 6 in.  
2. CLIFFORD STREET, YORK. 23 in. x 16 in.

1. CROSS-  
SHAFT,  
KIRKBY  
STEPHEN,  
WESTMORLAND  
Ht. 2 ft. 1 in.



2. CROSS-  
SHAFT,  
FOLKTON,  
E.R., YORKS  
Ht. 1 ft. 4 in.





CROSS-SHAFT, SOCKBURN, CO. DURHAM  
L. of ornamented shaft 2 ft. 8 in.



GRAVE-COVER, ST. DENIS, YORK  
L. 3 ft. 7 in.



1. CROSS-  
SHAFT,  
MIDDLETON,  
N.R. YORKS  
L. of panel 27 in



2. FRAGMENT  
OF CROSS,  
ELLERBURN,  
N.R. YORKS  
Ht. 2 ft. 6 in.



FRAGMENT OF CROSS-SHAFT, CROSS CANONBY, CUMBERLAND  
Ht. 21 in.



GRAVE-COVER, LEWISHAM, N.R. YORKS

L. of each fragment *c.* 2 ft.

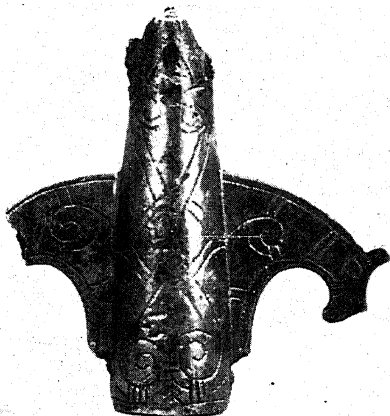


GRAVE-STONE FROM ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD  
W. 2 ft.



GRAVE-STONE FROM ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

L., as restored, c. 3 ft.



1. BRONZE SOCKET  
OF SPEARHEAD  
FOUND AT YORK

Ht. 3.4 in.

*Pitt-Rivers Museum,  
Farnham*



2 (left). COPPER-  
GILT ORNAMENT,  
THAMES AT  
HAMMERSMITH

L. 4 in.

*British Museum*



3 (right).  
ORNAMENTAL  
BONE PIN  
FROM THE  
THAMES

L. 6.6 in.

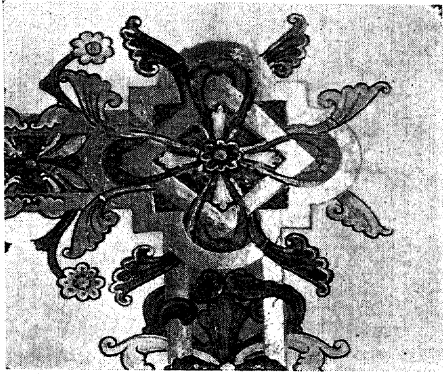
*British Museum*



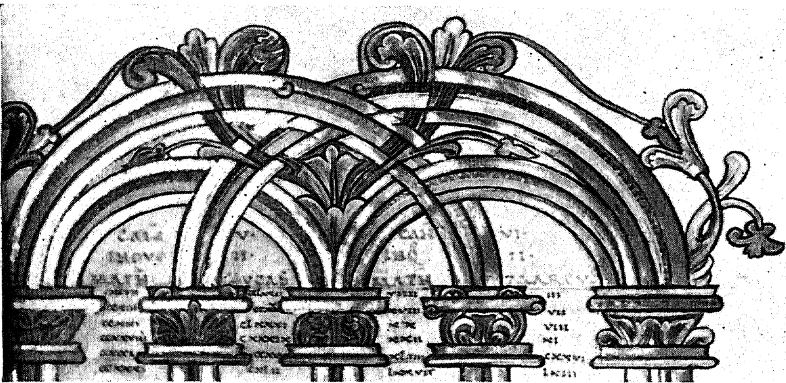
1. CARVED FRIEZE, SOMPTING, SUSSEX  
L. 1 ft. 11 in.



2. GRAVE-STONE, BIBURY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE  
Ht. 2 ft. 1 in.

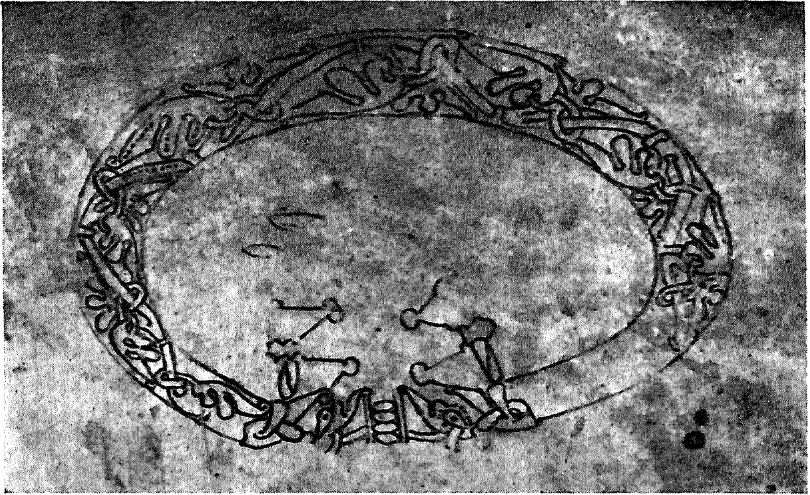


I. DETAIL FROM TRINITY COLL., CAMBRIDGE, B. 10. 4

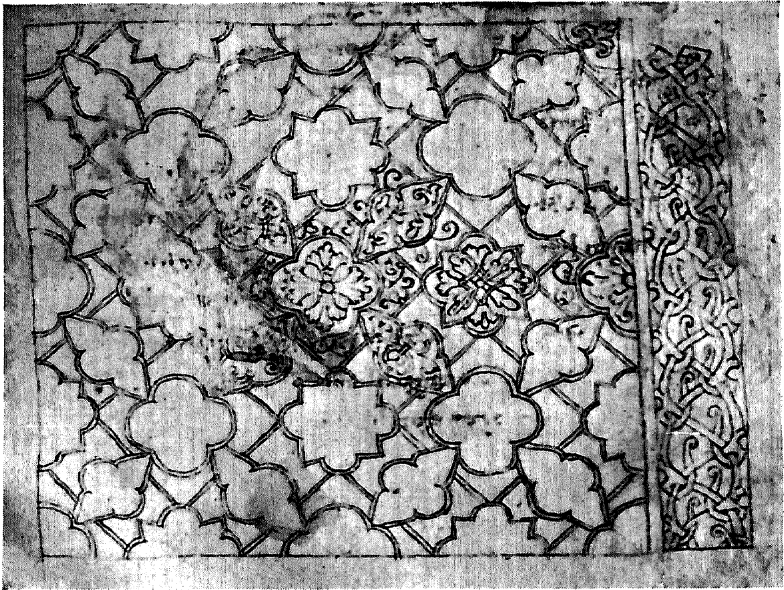


2, 3. DETAILS FROM BRITISH MUSEUM, Harley 76



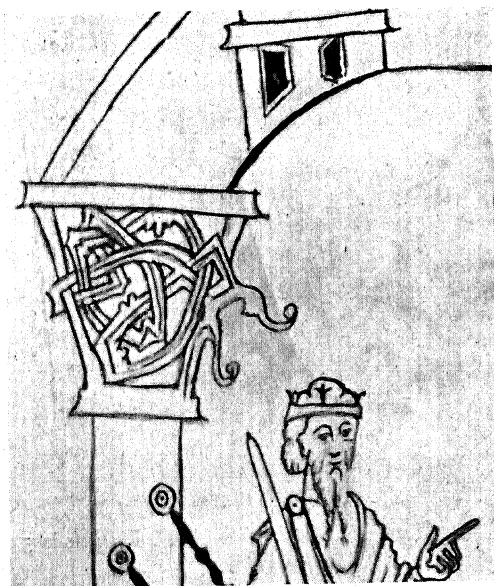


DETAILS FROM THE CÆDMON MS.  
BODLEIAN, Junius 11





1. DETAIL FROM CAMBRIDGE UNIV. LIBRARY, Ff. I. 23
2. DETAIL FROM BODLEIAN, Junius II







RUNESTONE SIMRIS I, SCANIA, SWEDEN

Ht. c. 5 ft. 9 in.



RUNESTONE, ARDRE III, GOTLAND  
Ht. 2 ft. 7 in.

*National Museum, Stockholm*





DOORS OF MAST-CHURCH, URNES, NORWAY



I. WINCHESTER  
WEATHER  
VANE

L. 10·8 in.

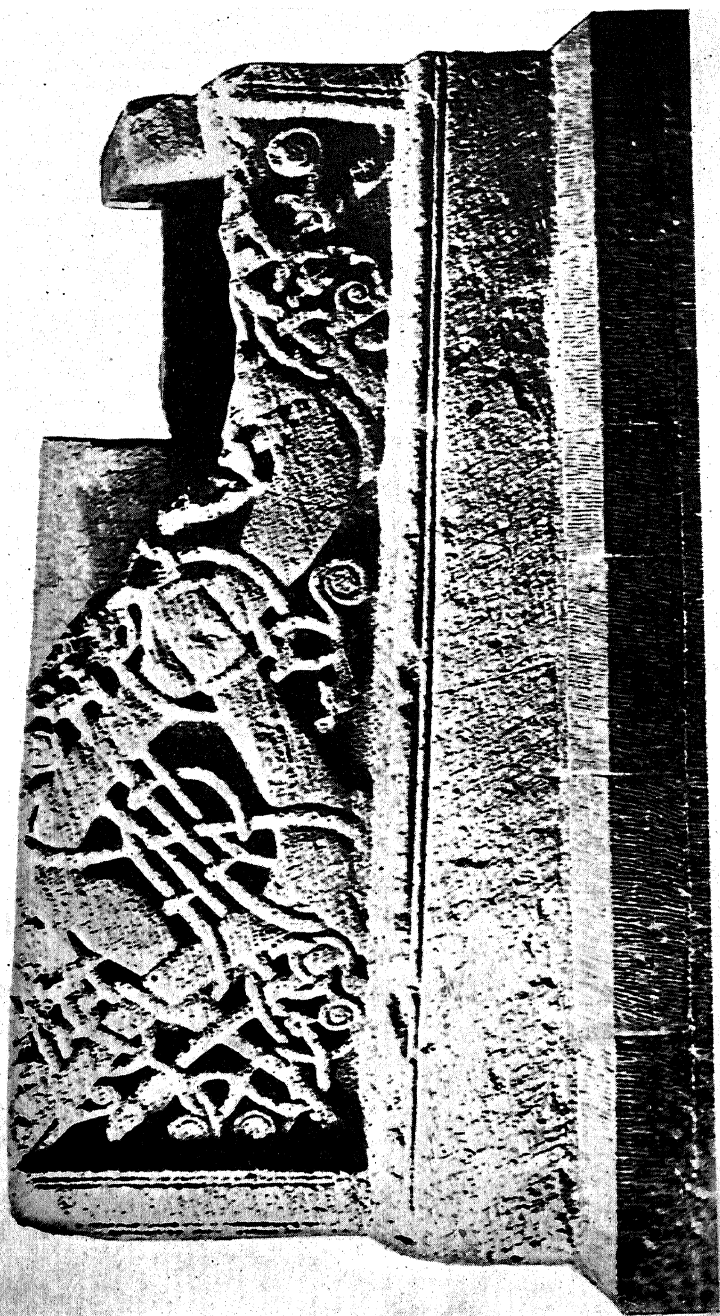
*Winchester Cathedral*



2. DETAIL, CROSS OF CONG

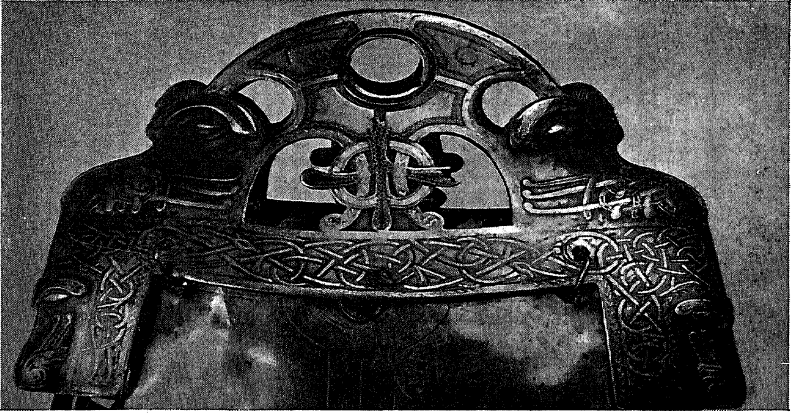
Ht. 2 ft. 6 in.

*National Museum, Dublin*



SARCOPHAGUS, CASHEL, CO. TIPPERARY

L. c. 6 ft. 6 in.



1. DETAIL OF BELL SHRINE OF ST. CUILLEÁN. W.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in.

*British Museum*

2. HEAD OF CROSIER FROM CLONMACNOISE. Ht., as shown, 8 in.

*National Museum, Dublin*





IVORY HEAD OF CROSIER, AGHADOE, CO. KERRY

Ht. c. 6 in.

*National Museum, Stockholm*



I. OPENWORK BRONZE ORNAMENT

FROM WISBECH

Diam. 1·6 in.

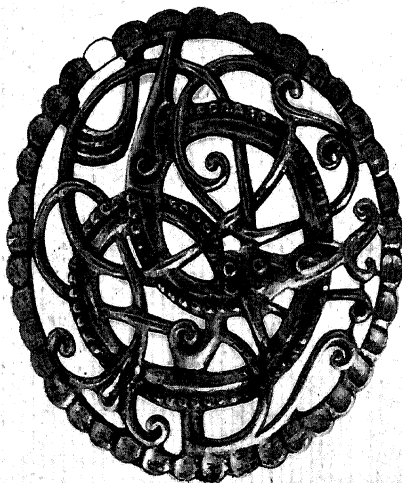
*Wisbech Museum*

2. OPENWORK GILT-BRONZE ORNAMENT

FROM PITNEY, SOMERSET

Diam. 1·5 in.

*British Museum*





1. IRON HEAD OF  
FLAMBARD'S CROSIER

Ht. 7 ft.

*Durham Cathedral*

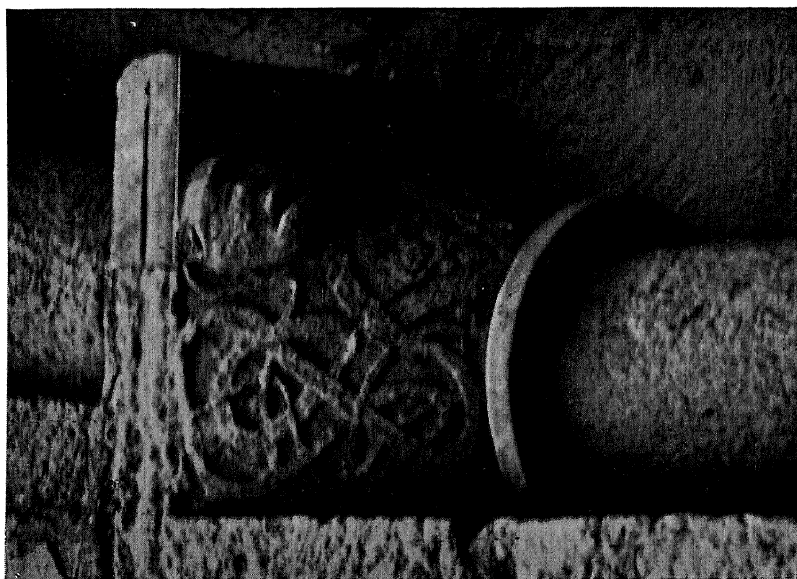
2. BRONZE ESCUTCHEON FROM  
SAFFRON WALLEN, ESSEX

Diam. 2 in.

*Saffron Walden Museum*



CAPITALS, KIRKBURN, E.R. YORKS





STONE CARVING (and detail), JEVINGTON, SUSSEX  
Ht. 3 ft.





TYMPANUM, SOUTHWELL, NOTTS, with detail of lower edge  
L. 4 ft. 8 in.

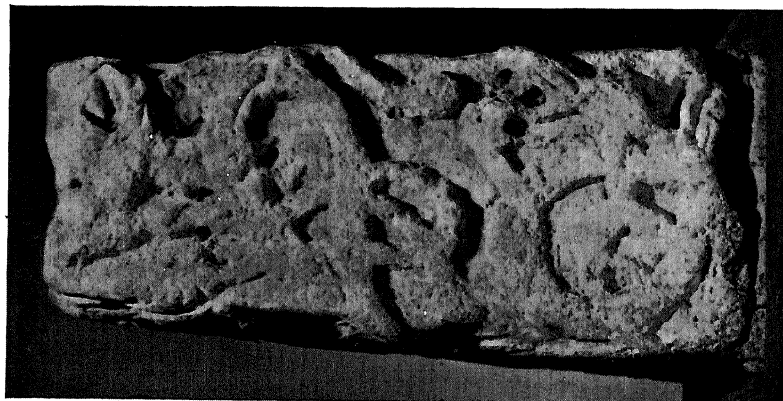




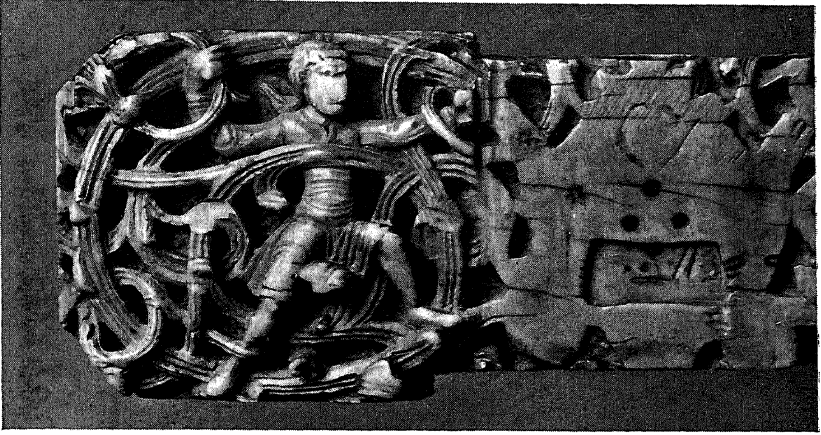
SCULPTURED STONES,  
ST. NICHOLAS, IPSWICH

L. of both c. 3 ft.





CROSS-SHAFT, WEST MARTON, W.R. YORKS  
Ht. 1 ft. 11 in.



1. IVORY HEAD OF TAU-CROSS, detail

*Victoria & Albert Museum*

2. DETAIL FROM PSALTER, British Museum, Arundel 60, folio 13.





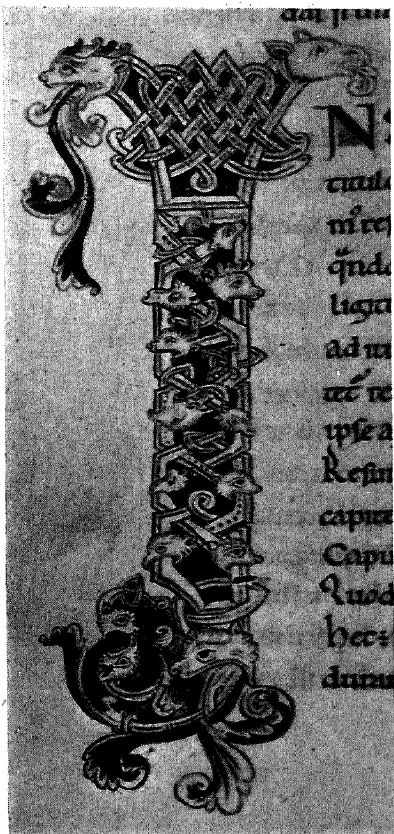
THE FISHING STONE,  
GOSFORTH, CUMBERLAND  
Ht. 2 ft. 3 in.



BAYEUX TAPESTRY, details



BAYEUX TAPESTRY, details



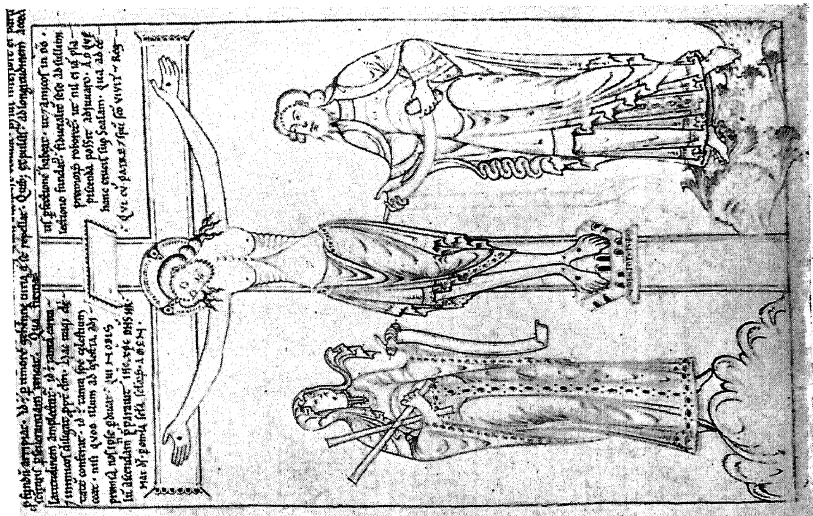
ST. AUGUSTINE, COMMENTARY ON PSALTER,  
Durham MS. B. II. 13, folios 102 and 72b, details

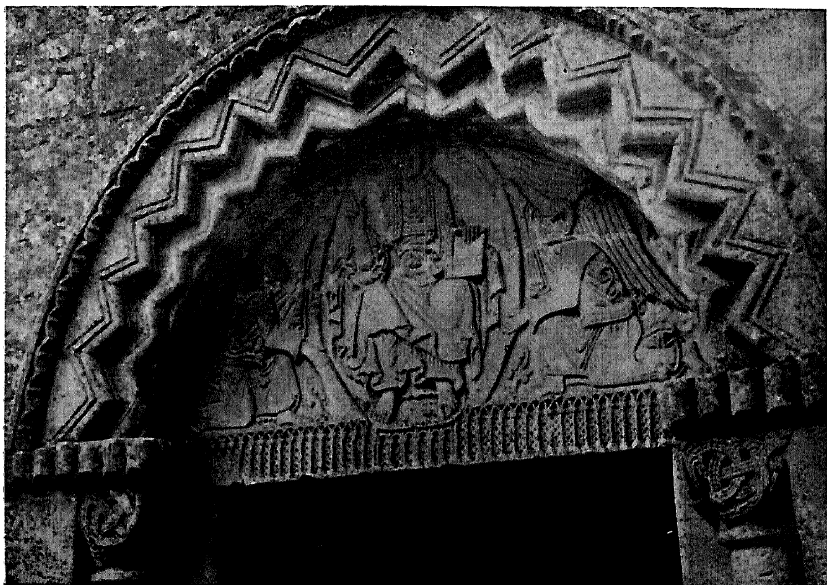


1. PSALTER,  
British Museum,  
Lansdowne 383,  
folio 12b



2. WORCESTER  
CHRONICLE,  
Corpus, Oxford,  
MS. 157, folio 76,  
detail





TYMPANUM (and detail),  
WATER STRATFORD, BUCKS









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